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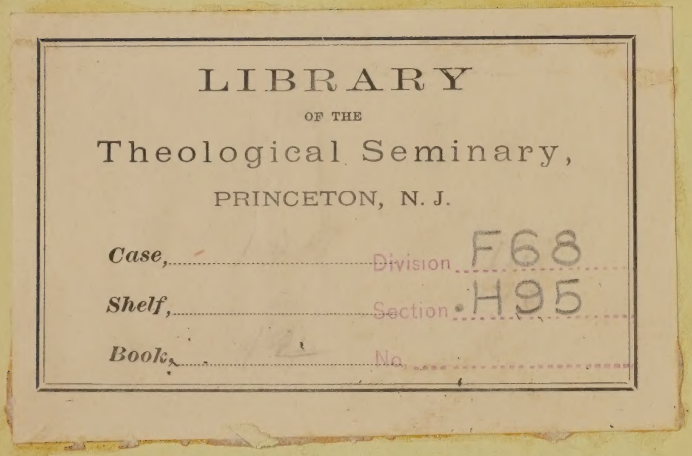


COLLECTIONS.

THE FOUNDERS OF NEW-PLYMOUTH,

THE PARENT-COLONY OF NEW-ENGLAND.

COLLECTIONS

CONCERNING

THE CHURCH OR CONGREGATION OF PROTESTANT SEPARATISTS FORMED AT *SCROOBY* IN NORTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, IN THE TIME OF KING JAMES I:

THE FOUNDERS OF NEW-PLYMOUTH,

THE PARENT-COLONY OF NEW-ENGLAND.

BY THE

REV. JOSEPH HUNTER,

FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, ETC., AND OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY;
AND AN ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF HER MAJESTY'S RECORDS.

LONDON:

Published by JOHN RUSSELL SMITH, 36 *Soho Square.*

M,DCCC.LIV.

TUCKER, PRINTER, PERRY'S PLACE, OXFORD STREET.

The Northern part of this Virginia, *being better discovered than the other, is called* NEW ENGLAND: *full of good new Towns and Forts, and is likely to prove a happy Plantation.*

HEYLIN, *Microcosmos*, 8th edit. 4to, Oxford, 1639.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

THIS volume is in one sense a Second Edition of a Tract which was printed in 1849, entitled 'Collections concerning the early History of the Founders of New Plymouth, the first Colonists of New England.'

That Tract formed No. II of a Series of Critical and Historical Treatises, of which four numbers only have appeared.

The place was then for the first time identified, at which these Founders met as a Separatist Church before they took the resolution of removing to Holland, from whence in a few years they passed to the shores of North America.

This point being determined, the way was opened to the discovery of some other new facts respecting the leaders and chief agents in the movement, and to the establishment from evidence at home of statements in certain historical and biographical writings which have been published in the new country.

They related especially to Bradford and Brewster, the most eminent of the lay-members of this Church or community of English Separatists.

The new facts which were brought to light, it is hardly too much to say, have changed the face of the

small account in the midst of a large and advanced population.

It is, indeed, the part and peculiar office of the Antiquary to deal with such small facts. It is this which makes the distinction between the Antiquary and the Historian.

I have proceeded in the spirit of the Antiquary in gathering up these small fragments of truth, and I have proceeded also in the same spirit, as in contradistinction to the controversial, the sectarian, or other party spirit. Though sprung from persons who maintained many of the principles and adopted many of the practices by which these people were distinguished, and who were, indeed, the chief supporters of them in the Hundred of Broxtowe which adjoins to Basset-Lawe, I have long known that when people think at all on subjects such as these, changes must come, and that a distant generation is no more bound to support the principles and opinions of ancestors of the days of Charles the First, than they were to support the principles of their own great-grandfathers as against the reformation. This is the necessary result of even their own great principle of free inquiry. I know very well that there are two different aspects under which the conduct of the persons about whom I write may be contemplated. Some may see in it nothing but self-will directed on subjects of inquiry which are at once difficult, and of supreme importance both to the inquirer himself and to the great community of

which he is a member, which led to an uncalled-for schism, leading to social disunion, and having a tendency to produce much bitterness of spirit, and even the fiercest internal warfare, as, indeed, in but a few years it contributed to do. But there are many others who may look upon it but as a magnanimous and salutary assertion of the right of private judgment and public action according to the result of that judgment, and a submission to the teaching of Scripture as opposed to anything which claims to be an authoritative explanation of it. On both sides there is much to be said. But whatever view is taken of the principles on which these men acted, few will deny the praise of sincerity and earnestness, and a devout respect to what they deemed commands too sacred not to be obeyed, to those who were the leaders in this movement, and to those also who followed with them, though it may be of unrecorded name.

To those also who look with something of sorrow upon the divisions of the Christian world, and to the occasional manifestations of terrene thoughts entering into those which ought to have nothing in them but the celestial, arising out of these divisions; there is some satisfaction in the thought that nothing seems to deprive Christianity of its salutary influences: for that however it is professed it still fills the mind with peace, and hope, and joy, and arms its professors, in whatever form professed, against the temptations of the world. But if we conclude that these people had mis-

taken the path of duty, or had imposed upon themselves a severer burthen than God ever intended for them, there is still a heroism in their conduct which forbids us to regard them with indifference, nay rather, which will call forth the sympathy of every generous mind.

J. H.

June 6th, 1854.

PREFATORY STANZAS.

O little Fleet! that on thy quest divine
Sailedst from Palos one bright autumn morn,
Say, has old Ocean's Bosom ever borne
A freight of Faith and Hope, to match with thine?

Say, too, has Heaven's high favour given again
Such consummation of desire, as shone
About Columbus, when he rested on
The new-found world and married it to Spain.

Answer—Thou refuge of the Freeman's need,
Thou for whose destinies no Kings looked out,
Nor Sages to resolve some mighty doubt,
Thou simple May-Flower of the salt-sea mead!

When *Thou* wert wafted to that distant shore—
Gay flowers, bright birds, rich odours, met thee not,
Stern nature hail'd thee to a sterner lot.—
God gave free earth and air, and gave no more.

Thus to men cast in that heroic mould
Came Empire, such as Spaniard never knew—
Such Empire, as beseems the just and true;
And at the last, almost unsought, came Gold.

But He, who rules both calm and stormy days,
Can guard that people's heart, that nation's health,
Safe on the perilous heighths of power and wealth,
As in the straitness of the ancient ways.

RICHARD MONCKTON MILNES.

The Hall, Bawtry.
May 30th, 1854.

THE FOUNDERS OF NEW-PLYMOUTH.

THE FOUNDERS OF NEW PLYMOUTH.

IT does not often happen to those who are intent on historical investigation *of the minuter kind*, and who are willing to devote themselves to the study of writings usually deemed uninviting and uninstructive, such as monumental inscriptions, parish registers, account rolls, wills, visitation books; to recover facts important not only in the history of any one family or nation, but in the history of the migration of Nations, which is, in fact, a main topic in the history of the Human Race: yet this seems to have been for once my good fortune.

Colonization effected by Governments, or private enterprise.

The settlement of colonies, which often issues in the establishment of new and independent communities, is usually the work of Governments; and the transaction is duly chronicled with other public events. But it is not always so. It was private commercial enterprise which led to the settlement of Barbadoes, and subsequently of

the other West India Islands belonging to Great Britain. It was the working in a few private men of an overstrained spirit of opposition to the established order of ecclesiastical affairs in Protestant England, which led to the colonization of New England, and, in the event, to the establishment of the United States of America as one of the great communities of the civilized world. If we desire to know the particulars of movements such as these, we must not therefore expect to find them in public histories, or floating on the surface of human knowledge, but we must look to the circumstances of private families, of which it is hard to collect the particulars, and dive deep into those evidences, whatever they may be, in which anything is to be found respecting them. In many cases it happens that nothing can be recovered, because all evidence has perished. England is, perhaps, in this respect not in a worse condition than other countries, but all who have made the experiment know that the difficulty is very great of recovering facts respecting private people who lived even no longer ago than thereigns of Elizabeth and James the First. And even in the more favoured cases, when the people about

In the latter case difficulty of recovering satisfactory information.

whom we inquire are not literally those of whom there is no memorial left, who are passed away as if they had never been, the notices which we are able to collect, after the most persevering inquiry, are often but few, unconnected, casual, so that the inferences to be drawn from them and the combinations to be made of them may be often uncertain. Yet it is not always so; and there sometimes, as in the case before us, comes in aid of what may be collected from the *general* evidences of the times, particular evidence to some facts, in the form of private historical or biographical memorials, the writings of the persons themselves, or of others, their contemporaries, who knew much of their principles and proceedings.

Beside this, it will generally be found that the *leaders* in enterprises of this kind, though but private men and little known perhaps in their own time, were not of the *very obscure*, but men of some education, of some energy, and even of some position on the social scale.

The colonization of New England an interesting subject of inquiry.

I have reason to know that the subject on which we are about to enter possesses a strong American interest; but it cannot be said to be without a claim on the attention of

Englishmen also. The settlement of New Plymouth, says Governor Hutchinson, writing in 1767, "occasioned the settlement of Massachusetts Bay, which was the source of all the other colonies in New England;" and he speaks of the persons by whom it was founded as "the founders of a flourishing town and colony if not of the whole British empire in America."[1] And to cite another English authority: when Sir Charles Lyell had viewed the relics of these founders which are preserved in the Museum at New Plymouth, he remarks, "When we consider the grandeur of the results which have been realized in the interval of two hundred and twenty-five years since the May-Flower sailed into Plymouth Harbour, how in that period a nation of twenty millions had sprung into existence and peopled a vast continent, and covered it with cities and churches, schools, colleges, and railroads, and filled its rivers and ports with steamboats and shipping, we regard the pilgrim relics with veneration."[2]

The people of New England pay all proper

[1] The History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, &c. 8vo, Boston, 1747, p. 452.

[2] A Second Visit to the United States of North America. 12mo, 1849, vol. i, p. 117.

deference to the colony of New Plymouth as being the parent colony of their country, and they speak fondly, if not wisely, of the persons who established it as THE PILGRIM FATHERS.[3] But we need not appeal to any testimony when we have the facts before us, that when a few Englishmen settled at this point, the whole of this part of the North American continent was a savage wild, and that now it is inhabited by a population of English origin, men who speak our language, who hold to many of our ancient principles and practices in religion, law, and manners, and who still venerate the great English names which we venerate,

[3] There is something of affectation in this term, which is always displeasing; and we have seen also very strange applications of it: but further, it appears to me to be philologically improper. A pilgrim is a person who goes in a devout spirit to visit a shrine—real in the first instance but afterwards a place where, it may be, no shrine is, but which is hallowed by some recollections which would deserve to have a substantial representative. An American who visits the place from which the founders of his country emigrated is a pilgrim in the proper sense of the word, whether he find an altar, a shrine, or a stone of memorial, or not. But these founders when they sought the shores of America were proceeding to no object of this kind, and even leaving it to the winds and the waves to drive them to any point on an unknown and unmarked shore. There is, however, it must be owned, the same corrupt use of the word Pilgrim in the English version of the Scriptures, "and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth."

and claim them as being theirs as well as ours. Men too, who as to the nobler and better part of them, cherish an affection and cultivate respect for the land from which their forefathers in sorrow departed, and who, should a great political necessity arise, would be found to stand side by side with us in the assertion of the just rights of men. And in taking this view of the subject I cannot but express the satisfaction I feel on finding that there has sprung up amongst them within the last few years an intense curiosity respecting their English ancestry: for such researches, whether successful or not (and in very many cases they cannot be pursued to any satisfactory issue), tend to strengthen the sentiment of fraternity, and to bind one free nation to another practically as free as itself.[4]

[4] I will take the liberty in the most friendly spirit to offer a hint or two to our brethren in New England. No genealogy is of the least value that is not supported by sufficient evidence from records or other contemporary writing. The mere possession of a surname which coincides with that of an English family is no proof of connection with that family. Claims of alliance founded on this basis are not the legitimate offspring of laborious genealogical enquiry, but of self-love and the desire to found a reputation for ancestorial honour where no such honour is really due.

Search out the history of your ancestors by all means: but claim no more than you can show to belong to you. As far as you

I cannot therefore but consider this story of English and American affairs as possessing an interest for both countries, and as deserving to be regarded even in its minutest particulars a worthy subject of historical enquiry; though the research has to be conducted among writings of very low esteem. I therefore proceed, without further apology or preface, to introduce to the reader the persons who were the chief actors in this movement, and to speak of the influences which operated to produce the strong devotional sentiment by which they were actuated, and at last determined them to leave their homes and commit themselves to the uncertainties and the many dangers

can *prove* you are safe, and you are doing a work that is good: but the assumption of the armorial distinctions of eminent English families who happen to bear the same surname with yourselves is not to be approved, and still less the attempt which is sometimes made to claim alliance with the ancient nobility or gentry of England. When it can be *proved*, well and good: but no terms can be too severe to reprobate it where there is no proof, or even when there is no show of probability. It may lead to unfounded claims not only to honour, but to property.

Beside what I have done for Brewster and Bradford, I think there was no one in the May-flower beside Winslow who has been traced to an English birth-place. Standish has the fairest chance of being one day discovered in Lancashire evidences, but even his affiliation is not at present known.

attending a removal to a distant and uncultivated shore.

Unity of the subject — one religious community the colonists.

We have one advantage in relation to this subject, which does not belong to some other enquiries of a similar nature. New Plymouth was not built and peopled by persons wholly independent of each other, who had assembled there by accident, or who were each attracted by the prospect of some private and particular advantage. They came there a united body of men, bound together by solemn compact, men of one heart and one mind, intent on the same purpose, and that a holy one. They were a federal body, a protestant congregation, community, or *Church* in their sense of the term, formed according to what they had brought themselves to regard as the scripture or gospel model; yet not a set of wild enthusiasts with principles and opinions founded on palpable errors or on frauds, but calm deliberation; and as to several of them, cultivated and discerning men—men entitled to have an opinion in respect of their religious profession, whatever judgment another may form of the value of the opinion, or the soundness of the reasoning, by which it was

supported. It is of such a body of men that we have to treat, and it is obvious that they may be contemplated as a *unit;* and the history of the foundation of New Plymouth is in fact but the first chapter in the history of this confederation.

Origin and Principles of that community.

It may be necessary for the right understanding of what follows to introduce at this point in the story some account of the nature and origin of communities, such as that before us: and a few words will be sufficient for our present purpose, as I have no intention of entering into the wide argument to which it might invite us.

When the Reformation of the sixteenth century, supported as it was by so much learning and piety, by so much political power, and by so much of the popular will, had set men's minds at liberty to rove at pleasure in the fields of theological and ecclesiastical enquiry, they must have been blind indeed who did not perceive that men's minds would never settle down in one uniform opinion, and that even great diversity might be expected, leading to rivalries, and struggles for supremacy. And politicians, quick to discern whatever impairs the strength and endangers the safety of a state, proceeded as soon as it was

possible to form *National Churches*, in which there should be a uniformity of faith and ordinances, resembling that uniformity which had been maintained by other means and on other principles in the times gone by. In constructing these National Churches, it was the object, at least in England, so to form them, that the greatest number of people might be comprehended within them, with as little shock as might be to any favourite opinions or prejudices. England, it is to be remembered, had at that time many families, from the highest to the lowest ranks, dispersed all over the country, who adhered in principle and in heart to the ancient and then abrogated system, and who recollected with affectionate reverence the touching ceremonies of the ancient rituals, the beauty of the churches then but lately defaced, the works of art in painting and sculpture, in goldsmith's work and embroidery, with which they were adorned, and the sweet music of the choir and the bell-tower. In the frame of the new Church of England, the claims of these persons were not to be disregarded (they were at least Englishmen), and there was therefore more of condescension to them than some of the more rigid Reformers could approve. But in proportion as there

were attempts made to conciliate these people by retaining certain of the ancient forms and ceremonies, and by keeping up the episcopal order, there was offence given to another body of persons who seem to have held as a principle that there was nothing good in the ancient church, and that it was enough to say of any practice in religion to condemn it, that it was a relic of popery. When all was done for the satisfaction, as far as could be, of both these parties, and a compromise was made perhaps as wisely and justly as could have been devised, though the great body of the English nation, both clerks and laymen, did enrol themselves as members of the national church, there were some who refused to do so or who yielded a reluctant and imperfect adhesion; Romanists, on the one hand, who pretty early rejected even occasional communion, and Puritans on the other, who did for the most part conform, though without concealing their objection to many of the rites and ceremonies of the church, and even to its constitution itself. The difficulty was to know how to deal with these persons of extreme opinions in opposite directions. Unfortunately the wisdom of toleration was not then understood among the persons in whose hands

temporal power was lodged, and they therefore determined that that power should be used to enforce compliance. Fine and imprisonment, deprivation of their benefices, degradation from the ministry, and even death itself, were awarded against both Catholic and Protestant nonconformists, and great was the suffering in consequence. But the storm of the persecution which casts so dark a shade over the reigns of Elizabeth and James, fell with far greater severity on the Romanists, who however mingled political projects of a very dangerous and often hateful kind with the zeal which they professed for the ancient order of the church. Some of the finest spirits of the time, such as Campion and Southwell, were sent by violence to the place whither Sir Thomas More had been sent. The Puritan also points to his martyrs and confessors, yet the Puritans were at that time a far less formidable body, with less compactness and less defined principles, and seemingly might have conformed altogether for the sake of peace and union, which are surely things far more valuable than testimonies, however earnest, against the cross in baptism or the ring in marriage.

Nothing however could extinguish this section of the church or break its spirit. The Puritans con-

tinued members of the church, only pursuing courses of their own in administering the ordinances, and it was not till about the middle of the reign of Elizabeth that the disposition was manifested among them to break away from the church altogether, and to form communities of their own. And then it was but a few of them who took this course: the more sober part remained in the church. The communities of persons who separated themselves were formed chiefly in London: there were very few in the distant counties, and those had no long continuance. It was not till the time of the Civil Wars that such bodies of Separatists, as they were called, or Congregationalists, or Independents, became numerous. At first they were often called Brownist churches, from Robert Brown, a divine of the time, who was for a while a zealous maintainer of the duty of separation. It was urged for these Communities, or as they called themselves Churches, that beside being formed on the Scripture model, and that those who belonged to them escaped from the tyranny of the authorities in the English church, they had two other advantages—facility in excluding immoral persons from church-

Pertinaciousness of the Puritan section of the English Church—leads to separation.

fellowship, and the liberty of making fresh changes in opinion or practice should fresh light break in upon them.

Rural Congregation of Separatists the Founders of New Plymouth.

THE BODY OF PERSONS WHO LAID THE FOUNDATION OF NEW PLYMOUTH, WAS ONE OF THESE CHURCHES OR COMMUNITIES OF PURITAN SEPARATISTS: persons so impatient under the yoke of the ceremonies which had been continued in the Reformed Church of England, that they had begun to regard it as unlawful to remain in the church, and who had formed themselves in church order, based upon their own principles, and consisting of a people with the offices of pastor, teacher, elders, and deacons. It was not one of the London Communities of this kind; but, what gives this subject the greater interest, it was *a church that had been formed in quite a rural district in a county far remote from London.*

Old statements respecting the Site of that private church.

It remained, till the publication of my "Collections" on this subject, an undetermined question to what point we are to look for the place of meeting of this church or community, for discipline and worship, and consequently from what English population the members

of it were gathered. Dr. Cotton Mather, whose *Magnalia*, a folio volume, printed in 1702, contains much valuable information concerning New England, and its early settlers, is content with saying, after Morton, in his *New England's Memorial*, 1669, that the founders of New Plymouth came from "the North of England." Hubbard, another early writer on the affairs of New England, uses the same expression.[5] Prince, however, in 1736, is a little more particular. He tells us, on the authority of William Bradford, a principal member of the church, who has left several historical writings, that the persons who first settled themselves at New Plymouth, were "religious people, who lived near the joining borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire." This, though it left the mind at liberty to range over a considerable tract of country, was a great advance on the vague statements of Morton, Mather, and Hubbard. Prince, however, though he marks the passage as if it were an actual quotation from Bradford's manuscript, has not given us the very words as they have since appeared in Dr. Young's publication of Brad-

[5] See vol. v. of the Second Series of Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, p. 42.

ford's Remains, where the passage to which Prince referred stands thus:—"These people," that is the persons who were Puritan Separatists, "became two distinct bodies or churches, in regard of distance of place, and did congregate severally, for they were of several towns and villages, some in Nottinghamshire, some in Lincolnshire, and some in Yorkshire, where they bordered nearest together." One of these two churches was at Gainsborough, a well-known place, the other, which is that about which we are now concerned, was elsewhere.

Site determined.—Bradford's historical writings.

Bradford's writings are exceedingly valuable,[6] though we have for ever reason to regret that he shuts up so many things in general

[6] Much used by Prince in his *Chronological History of New England*, Boston, 1736, but little known till the publication of Dr. Alexander Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of New Plymouth, from* 1602 *to* 1625, *now first collected from original records and contemporaneous printed documents and illustrated with notes*, Boston, 8vo, 1844. The portions which are used in this treatise are, 1, Governor Bradford's *History of Plymouth Colony*, p. 1-97. His *Dialogue or the Sum of a Conference between some young men born in New England and sundry ancient men that came out of Holland and Old England*, p. 414-459; and his *Memoir of Elder William Brewster*, p. 461-471. To these I shall have frequent occasion to refer, and I have availed myself in some places of the very valuable notes with

expressions, avoiding in the most tantalizing manner, nearly all specialty or particularity in the information which he gives us. Yet it is to a passage in another of his writings that we are indebted for the information which enables me now to dispel all uncertainty on this point, and to fix the locality of this church or community to a particular place. "They ordinarily met," says he, in his *Life of William Brewster*, "at his house on the Lord's Day, *which was a manor of the bishop's*, and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge, and continued so to do whilst they could stay in England."[7] This, when it is combined with the preceding note of place, "near the joining borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire," guides us at once to the village of SCROOBY, in the Hundred of Basset-Lawe, a part of North Nottinghamshire, well known in parliamentary history;

which Dr. Young has enriched this publication. Prince appears to have been acquainted with writings of Bradford which are not known now to exist. See his preface, p. 6, and Mather's account of Bradford has every appearance of having been founded on writings of Bradford himself not now existing.

[7] Young, p. 465.

that being the only place comprising an episcopal manor that was near the borders of the three counties.

Scrooby Manor.

The word "manor," it may be here observed, is not used in its more ordinary sense, to denote a district throughout which certain feudal privileges are enjoyed, but a mansion house. This is sufficiently manifest even from the way in which Bradford speaks of it; but we may add that the houses of the great nobility in those parts of the kingdom were often called manors, as still Worksop Manor, Winfield Manor, Sheffield Manor, Brierley Manor, and several others. Scrooby Manor was near to the borders both of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, though itself in the county of Nottingham. It was also an ancient possession and occasional residence of the Archbishop of York.

Further proofs.

No reasonable doubt can therefore ever arise that the seat and centre of that religious community which afterwards planted itself on the shores of New England was at this Nottinghamshire village of SCROOBY, a place little known to fame, but acquiring from this accident a certain amount of historical interest. The claims of this village, though hitherto unnoticed, do not rest entirely on

what I have now said; for to make their establishment quite complete, recourse was had to the Rolls which contain the Assessments of the Subsidies granted by Parliament, and there was found that in the thirteenth year of Elizabeth, 1571, there was a William Brewster assessed in the township of Scrooby-cum-Ranskil on goods of the annual value of Three Pounds;[8] and in other accounts, that in 1608, William Brewster, and two other persons, all described as "of Scrooby, Brownists or Separatists," were certified into the Exchequer for fines imposed upon them by the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, for non-appearance to a citation. Further evidence of Brewster's residence at Scrooby will appear as we proceed.

Scrooby will be found in the maps about a mile and a half south of Bawtry, a market and post town situated on the boundary line between Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire. It was itself in the time when

[8] Two other persons were assessed with him, viz. William Dawson, and Thomas Wentworth who then resided at the manor and who describes himself in his will "of Scrooby Manor, Esquire." He was a younger brother of William Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse, Esquire, Great Grandfather of Thomas Earl of Strafford.

Brewster resided there one of the post towns on the great road from London to Berwick.

Early topographical notices of Scrooby.

Leland, who visited the place in 1541, gives this account of it:—"In the meane townlet of Scrooby I marked two things—the parish church not big but very well builded; the second was a great manor place, standing within a moat, and longing to the Archbishop of York; builded in two courts, whereof the first is very ample and all builded of timber, saving the front of the house that is of brick, to the which *ascenditur per gradus lapideos*. The inner court building, as far as I marked, was of timber building, and was not in compass past the fourth part of the outer court."[9] It had belonged to the see of York in the time of Domesday book. The archbishops not unfrequently resided here, it being favourably situated for the enjoyment of field-sports, an exercise in which bishops in the old time greatly delighted. Archbishop Savage in particular, we are expressly told by Godwin, often made this his place of residence for the purpose of hunting in Hatfield chase.[10] Margaret, Queen of Scotland, daughter of King

[9] Itinerary, vol. i, p. 36.

[10] De Presulibus, vol. ii, p. 71.

Henry VII, slept here on her way to Scotland, 12th June, 1503. When Wolsey was dismissed by his tyrannical master to his northern diocese he passed some weeks at Scrooby, and very pleasing is the picture which his faithful servant Cavendish has drawn of him as he then appeared, "ministering many deeds of charity and attending on Sundays at some parish church in the neighbourhood, hearing or saying mass himself and causing some of his chaplains to preach to the people: and that done he would dine at some honest man's house of that town, where should be distributed to the poor a great alms, as well of meat and drink, as of money to supply the want of sufficient meat, if the number of the poor did so exceed of necessity."[11] A few years later King Henry VIII slept in this house for one night during his northern progress in 1541.

Great change produced there by Archbishop Sandys.

A great change took place at Scrooby in the time of Archbishop Sandys, who was elevated to the see of York in 1576. He was a prelate worthy to be held in esteem on many accounts, but it seems hard to justify his proceedings in respect of the temporalities of

[11] Life of Wolsey, Singer's edition, 8vo, 1825. vol. i, p. 260.

his sees. He was the first Protestant bishop who raised a powerful family out of the goods of the church, and this he did by granting leases of episcopal lands to his sons. Samuel had six, Miles five, Edwin four, Henry two, Thomas two, George two; as they are enumerated by Lord Burghley himself, in his own hand, in a manuscript now in the British Museum.[12] Scrooby was the subject of one of the leases granted to Samuel his eldest son,[13] and it must have been under him that the Brewsters held the manor.

[12] Vol. 50 of the Lansdowne MSS. art. 34.

[13] The archbishop's conduct in respect of this lease seems to require a special justification, for there exists a letter of his which is printed by Le Neve, p. 61, in which he excuses himself from granting a lease of it to the Queen, on the ground of the injury which would thereby be done to his see. He speaks of Scrooby as a usual residence of the archbishops, and says, that he himself had lived for four months together there and at Southwell; and that "the reserved rent for this newly-conceived lease is £40. by year, and yet the annual rent thereof to the bishop is, £170. by year; but this is a small loss to that which followeth. I am compelled by law to repair two fair houses standing upon these two manors (Southwell and Scrooby), by this lease, if it should pass, I am excluded out of both." He presses other arguments, and makes it appear, that if such a lease were granted, the loss to the see would be £60,000. [query £6000?] at least; "too much, Most Gracious Sovereign, too much to pull from a bishoprick inferior to many others in revenue, but superior in charge and countenance." This letter was written on November 24th, 1582; and yet on the 20th of

But though Scrooby was the residence of William Brewster, the chief agent in this movement, and his house was opened for worship and discipline to the persons who thought and acted with him, it is not to Scrooby only that we are to look for the persons composing the church, who were drawn from various places in

The private church collected from people around Scrooby.

December in the same year, he granted to his son Sir Samuel Sandys a lease of this manor of Scrooby for a rent of £65. 6*s*. 8*d*. It is probable that we have not sufficient information to enable us to form a proper estimate of the whole of the archbishop's conduct in this particular.

But it is clear that it amounted in fact to a perpetual alienation of Scrooby from the see. The defence in these cases lies in the legal power which was understood to be vested in the bishops to grant these beneficial leases, and next that possessing such a power, there was no reason why they should not exercise it in favour of those of their own household as well as of strangers to them in blood. It is in fact the great question of *Nepotism*. But it ought to be added, that if there was a case in which such a proceeding could be considered as justified by the subsequent conduct of the youths in whose favour the power was exercised, it is the case of the Sandys family in which we have Sir Edwin one of the most sensible writers on ecclesiastical affairs, and George the traveller and religious poet. Sir Edwin Sandys in the course of events was, as we shall see, a principal agent in obtaining a legal permission for the Scrooby people to remove themselves to America. He sympathized with the more cultivated and rational part of them in most of their opinions, and we see in what I have now stated how there would arise a private acquaintanceship between the Sandys' and the Brewsters.

the surrounding country. The vicinity of Scrooby was in those times, and is now, an agricultural district; having a few villages scattered about, each with its church and perhaps an esquire's seat; but the population was for the most part employed in husbandry, an occupation little congenial to the growth of extreme opinions in either religion or politics, or of voluntary sacrifices to a severe estimate of duty or a supposed call of conscience. The very natural features of the country may be said to have been unpropitious to the production of persons such as those who formed the emigration; for it is usually in hilly countries not in plains that the sense of religious duty takes deepest root and produces the most remarkable fruits, or where men are collected in large masses, as in cities or great commercial towns. There had indeed been an unusual number of religious houses surrounding Scrooby in the times before the Reformation. Almost all the more conspicuous of the religious orders had here a representative; for there were Cistercians at Rufford, Gilbertines at Mattersey, Carthusians in the Isle of Axholm, Benedictines at Blythe, Benedictine ladies at

General character of the country.

Remarkable for the number of religious houses before the Reformation.

Walling-wells, Augustinians at Worksop, and Premonstratensians at Welbeck, the chief house of that Order. These formed quite a cordon round the part of Basset-Lawe Hundred to which Scrooby belongs, while a little farther removed was the house of Cistercians in a woody and stony valley eminently adapted to monastic habits, called the House of St. Mary of the Rock, but better known by its modern name of Roche Abbey. It might be expected that the existence of so many conspicuous seats of devotion would give an air of seriousness and piety to the places within their influence, which might remain even when their reverend heads were brought to the dust; and it is probably at least to influences thus created that we find several of the principal families of Basset-Lawe, the Molineuxes and Markhams, the Cliftons and Mortons, adhering to the old Christianity, and suffering hardships in consequence. There were also in those times two very distinguished ladies who retained a fondness for the old profession, Mary (Cavendish) Countess of Shrewsbury, at Rufford, and her sister Frances Lady Pierrepoint, at Thoresby.[14] That it had

Attachment to the Romish Church of some of the best families.

[14] In the Shrewsbury correspondence at the Heralds College is

much to do in originating the strong puritan feeling which pervaded the middle and lower classes of the population of Basset-Lawe can hardly be affirmed; but the presence of so much Catholic zeal would be likely to sharpen the opposition of those who had persuaded themselves that the Protestant could not go too far in his renunciation of everything that appeared to belong to Rome, or that revived or kept up the recollection of what England had been in the days of their grandfathers.

But however created, it is certainly a very remarkable circumstance (apart from the consideration of the very important consequences which ensued upon it), that there should have arisen among such a population as that of Basset-Lawe a spirit so strong and so determined, or that it could have been induced to enter such a field of controversy at all. And it becomes the more remarkable, when we observe how few

a letter signed W. Bellenden to the Countess, which accompanied a present of relics, namely a portion of the cross, and measures of the length and breadth of the body of St. Mary Magdalene, from St. Maxence, in Provence, dated Feb. 12, 1608, vol. O. f. 127. When a very old woman, 63 years after her marriage, Lady Pierrepoint, who had been accounted a Popish Recusant, "renounced her former obstinacy" and professed to conform. This was in 1626.

persons in those times had, in any part of the country, separated themselves from the Church, and formed themselves into single self-directed communities. Not but that in most other parts of the kingdom the Puritan objections to the ceremonies were felt by many minds, and many were the persons who would gladly have seen the yoke of ceremonies removed: but there is a great difference between this uneasiness in a forced acquiescence, and the actual withdrawing from all communion, and throwing off the authority of the Church, and the authority of the State too, as far as respected affairs of religion. The separatist was a Puritan, but the Puritan was not necessarily a separatist; and the extraordinary feature in this case is, that the Puritanism of Basset-Lawe was so deep a sentiment that it urged so many to the act of separation, and afterwards to the desperate measure of emigration, while in other parts of the country, with few exceptions, though there were Puritan emigrants who sought relief from the ceremonies and subscriptions, there were few or none who had while at home entered into church union, as the Scrooby people did, and then took their departure a compact and united body.

Correspondent ultra zeal of the Protestant population.

There is no doubt a great overruling power in all human affairs: but our concern is with second causes, and it is to be believed that we often deceive ourselves when we attempt to recover general principles from which things remarkable in the acts of men have arisen.[15]

Accident of several Puritan ministers having been beneficed in Basset-Lawe.

In this instance we should probably be nearest to the truth if we attributed this strong Puritan feeling chiefly to the apparently accidental circumstance of the residence in Basset-Lawe, and the parts immediately contiguous, of several clergymen whose private studies had led them to take extreme views, and who, by a zealous, and perhaps eloquent style of address, had acquired a great influence over the many around them: and this influence became the stronger in consequence of the measures of severity by which the authorities in the church sought to arrest the impending schism. If a simple, honest, and religious mind finds itself beneficially wrought upon by any ministry,

[15] Worksop one of the few market towns of Basset-Lawe, and within a short distance of Scrooby, had been visited in the very early days of the Reformation by a Dutchman named Van Baller, who preached to the people the doctrines of Luther, in the Priory church or under the shadow of its walls.

it is hard to convince it that the mouth of the minister ought to be closed, and that he should be cast out to waste himself in silence and indigence: and so it is that religious persecution usually defeats its own purpose, and so it seems to have been in the present instance. Bradford, one of the most strenuous members of the Scrooby Church, puts it thus:—"When, by the travail and diligence of some godly and zealous preachers, and God's blessing on their labours, as in other places of the land, so in the north part, many became enlightened by the word of God, and had their ignorance and sins discovered by the word of God's grace, and began, by his grace, to reform their lives, and make conscience of their ways, the work of God was no sooner manifest in them, but presently they were both scoffed and scorned by the profane multitude, and the ministers urged with the yoke of subscription, or else must be silenced; and the poor people were so urged with apparitors, and pursuivants, and the Commission Courts, as truly their affliction was not small. Which, notwithstanding, they bare sundry years with much patience, until they were occasioned, by the continuance and increase of these troubles, and other means

Bradford's account of the state of religious feeling about Scrooby

which the Lord raised up in those days, to see further into these things by the light of the word of God; how that not only those base, beggarly ceremonies were unlawful, but also that the lordly tyrannous power of the prelates ought not to be submitted to, which those, contrary to the freedom of the Gospel, would load and burden men's consciences with, and by their compulsive power make a profane mixture of persons and things in the worship of God; and that their offices and callings, courts and canons, &c., were unlawful and anti-Christian, being such as have no warrant in the word of God, but the same that were used in Popery and still retained. . . . . So many therefore of those professors as saw the evil of these things, in these parts, and whose hearts the Lord had touched with heavenly zeal for his truth, they shook off this yoke of anti-Christian bondage, and as the Lord's free people, joined themselves, by a covenant of the Lord, into a church estate, in the fellowship of the Gospel, to walk in all his ways, made known, or to be made known unto them according to their best endeavours, whatsoever it should cost them."[16]

—and of the determination to which it led.

[16] Young, pp. 19-21.

This is the spirit in which Bradford a native of Austerfield, a village a few miles from Scrooby and an early member of the church, writes in all the historical tracts which we owe to him. We shall say more of him hereafter, but now it may be proper to observe, that no one understood better than he what the people had thought, and done, and suffered, while in England, or what was their condition while in Holland, and after they had become permanently settled on the American continent. He was the governor of the New Plymouth colony for many years[17] while Brewster was the elder, but uniting in himself also the offices of pastor and teacher till a minister became settled among them. Their residence in Holland was for one year at Amsterdam, and eleven years at Leyden, whence they began to remove to America in 1620.

His excellent opportunities of knowledge.

Governor Bradford, as I have before observed, too much avoids specialties in what he has written, and perhaps he would have dis-

Ministers named by him as zealous Puritans.

[17] Not the first Governor, for Carver held the office for a short time, but after him with few intermissions every year till his death. Hence it is that when Bradford is spoken of it is as Governor Bradford, and when Brewster is named it is as Elder Brewster.

charged the duty of an historian better had he told us more. Two ministers he especially names as those who had the greatest influence in alienating men's minds from the church, and with less definiteness he speaks of others concerning whom a few particulars will be found hereafter. There are also others not named by him who are to be classed with the ministerial fathers of Basset-Lawe nonconformity.

John Smith.

The person whom Bradford places first among the ministers, who was a separatist himself, and who made others separatists, is JOHN SMITH, a name so general in England as almost to preclude the possibility of recovering any circumstance that can be said to belong to him without great chance of attributing to him what may belong to another. I add that I wish we had a person to deal with at this beginning of the nonconformist roll of ministers, on whom the mind could dwell in a more calm and discriminating approbation. Bradford's estimate of him is, that he was "a man of able gifts and a good preacher,"[18] and in another of his writings, the interesting and instructive "Dialogue," that "he was an eminent man in his time, and a good preacher and of

[18] Young, p. 22.

other good parts; but his inconstancy and unstable judgment, and being so suddenly carried away with things, did soon overthrow him."[19] His residence was at Gainsborough on the Trent, where it divides Basset-Lawe from Lincolnshire. He collected there that other community of Separatists, of which Bradford speaks, an older church than that of Scrooby, and he first set the example of removing to Holland, which the church of Scrooby in a few years followed. "He was some time pastor to a company of honest and godly men which came with him out of England and pitched at Amsterdam. He first fell into some errors about the scriptures; and so into some opposition to Mr. Johnson, who had been his tutor, and the church there."[20] Poor Mr. Smith could be at peace under no system, and having a violence of temper and possibly a disposition to take an unfavourable view of the conduct of everybody about him, he was a trouble to

[19] Young, p. 450.

[20] Young, p. 450. Francis Johnson and Henry Ainsworth were two ministers, both university men and men of learning, who went very early into the way of separation, and flying to Holland from the persecution in England, established a separatist church at Amsterdam. This was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Smith would probably be an unwelcome intruder upon them.

every one, and perhaps in the highest measure to himself. Bradford proceeds, "But he was convinced of his errors by the pains and faithfulness of Mr. Johnson and Mr. Ainsworth, and revoked them: but afterwards was drawn away by some of the Dutch Anabaptists, who finding him a good scholar and unsettled, they easily misled the most of his people, and other of them scattered away. He lived not many years after, but died there of a consumption, to which he was inclined before he came out of England. His and his people's condition may be an object of pity for after times."[21]

But though Mr. Smith may be now regarded as an object of pity rather than of esteem, we cannot but regret that our information should be so confined respecting his birth, his education, entrance into the ministry, and his conduct generally while he remained in England, where he would be subject to some control from the authorities under which the Church of England places its ministers. It appears in Mr. Brook's account of him that he was a Master of Arts of the University of Cambridge, and we have seen that Francis Johnson, one of the earliest Separatists, was

[21] Young, p. 451.

his tutor at Christ's College. In 1592 he was in London and imprisoned there for acts of nonconformity. He was for some time at Lincoln before he settled at Gainsborough. But I must content myself with referring for these and other particulars to Mr. Brook's valuable work and the authors cited by him in the margin. In the Appendix to this volume I may give a specimen of his writings illustrative of the spirit which he perhaps knew not that he was of. The writings of Crosby and Hanbury may also be consulted with advantage.

Richard Bernard.

Another very zealous Puritan minister in these parts was RICHARD BERNARD, who had the misfortune to fall under the displeasure of Mr. Smith for not going to the same excess of riot in his nonconformity, and for this he pours the vials of his wrath upon him in terms which find no counterpart, it is to be hoped, in modern controversy. Bernard was a man of gentle and yet determined spirit; and so decided were his objections to the ceremonies, that he was silenced by the archbishop at Worksop, where he was the vicar. But he never went into the way of separation, though his preaching must have contributed to lead others to do so. Brad-

ford's notice of him is very slight. He speaks of him only as one who had been "hotly persecuted by the prelates."[22] I shall add a few dates and particulars, as of a man who has received less notice than he deserves at the hands of the dispensers of posthumous honours. He was born in 1566 or 1567, according to the inscription on his engraved portrait, which states that he was 74 at the time of his death, 1641. While very young he fell under the notice of two ladies, daughters of Sir Christopher Wray, lord chief justice of England, who were among the most eminent of those times for piety and Christian zeal. One of them was the wife successively of Godfrey Foljambe, Esquire; Sir William Bowes, of Walton, near Chesterfield; and of John, the good Lord Darcy of Aston. The other married Sir George Saint Paul, of Lincolnshire; and afterwards, the Earl of Warwick. They sent him to Christ's College, Cambridge, where it seems that he might be contemporary with Smith. They were probably in other respects his benefactors, since in the dedication of his first printed work he speaks of them as those to whom next to God and nature he owed all that he had.

[22] Young, p. 422.

The work to which this dedication is prefixed is not such a work as we should expect to find as the first-fruits of a young Puritan minister's studies, for it is a translation of the plays of Terence, a small quarto, printed by John Legate, at Cambridge, in 1598. We collect from it that Bernard was then residing at Epworth, in the Isle of Axholm, a place not far distant from Scrooby, from whence issued a family which originated a more formidable separation from the Church than that in which Bernard was an agent. Not long after the publication of this volume he was removed from Epworth, having been presented by Richard Whalley to the vicarage of Worksop, where he received institution on the 19th of June, 1601.

Here he was for several years the very zealous minister, carrying to an extreme length the Puritan scruples, going to the very verge of separation; and joining himself even to those of his Puritan brethren, who thought themselves qualified to go through the work of exorcism. At length when Smith, and doubtless other persons, when they saw him silenced by the archbishop, were expecting that he would break from all church authority, he began to consider more fully the question of conformity; and when this consideration issued in

an approval of a National Church, if one could be constituted in a manner conformable to the intimations on that subject to be found in scripture, as preferable to an entire withdrawal from communion with it, he was restored to the exercise of his ministry, determined thenceforth to be more forbearing in his demands and more submissive to authority; and for this it is that Smith heaps upon him terms of the grossest abuse, Apostate, Deceiver, Worldly Man: "I do proclaim you to the whole world to be one of the most fearful apostates of the whole nation: that excepting White and Clapham you have no superior."[23] A similar passage is valuable for the historical facts it contains:—

"Maister Bernard, I have sufficient reasons that have moved me to break silence in respect of you, and by this letter to attempt a further trial of your pretended zeal for the truth and faith of Christ. I have long time observed the applause yielded you by the multitude. Likewise I have taken notice of your forwardness in leading to a Reformation by public proclamations in several pulpits, as if you had meant, contrary to the king's mind, to have carried all the

[23] Smith's Parallels, Censures, and Observations, 4to, 1609, p. 5.

people of the country after you against the ceremonies and subscription. Afterward, having lost your vicarage of Worksop for refusing subscription or conformity, I have observed how you revolted back, and upon subscription made to the Prelate of York, have re-entered upon your vicarage. Again, I have noted your vehement desire to the parsonage of Sawenby, and your extreme indignation when you were defeated of it; further, your earnest desire to have been vicar of Gainsborough, and all this after your subscription: besides, I have carefully weighed with myself your steadiness to embrace the truth we profess."

While at Worksop, Bernard printed several controversial writings and his *Faithful Shepherd*, a treatise on the duties of ministers, quarto, 1607. This is dedicated to Dr. Montagu, Dean of the Chapel Royal, an offering of thankfulness for many past favours.

He witnessed the formation of the Scrooby Church and its departure to Holland, during the time of his residence at Worksop. He ceded the living in 1612 or 1613, on his appointment to another in a distant county, the rectory of Batcombe, in Somersetshire. It was bestowed upon him by a private patron as to

a minister who, in his opinion, would best discharge the duties to the edification of the parishioners—an act both just and honourable. Here he continued till his death, publishing from time to time works in practical divinity, which had a large share of popularity, and which are sometimes reprinted even in our time. And with this I dismiss this eminent divine, best known not as Bernard of Worksop, but as Bernard of Batcombe.

I cannot, however, forbear from remarking, that we see in all this that the Puritans of North Nottinghamshire had storms of their own raising, beside that which was beating upon them from without.

Another of these ministers was Richard Clifton, "a grave and reverend preacher, who by his fervour and diligence had done much good, and under God had been the means of the conversion of many." This is what Bradford says of him in his History of the Movement,[24] but in the Dialogue he admits us to the knowledge of a few more particulars relating to him:—"Mr. Richard Clifton was a good and fatherly old man when he came first into Holland, having a great white beard; and pity it was that such

Richard Clifton.

[24] Young, p. 22.

a reverend old man should be forced to leave his country, and at those years to go into exile. But it was his lot, and he bore it patiently. Much good had he done in the country where he lived, and converted many to God by his faithful and painful ministry, both in preaching and catechising. Sound and orthodox he always was, and so continued to his end. He belonged to the church at Leyden; but being settled at Amsterdam and then aged, he was loath to remove any more; and so when they removed he was dismissed to them there, and there remained until he died."[25]

When the Separatists who remained in Nottinghamshire after the removal of Smith's church into Holland formed themselves in church order, Clifton became either Pastor or Teacher, probably the latter, while John Robinson, a man to be afterwards named, held the other office and Brewster was the Ruling Elder. When in Holland he, like Bernard, was engaged in bitter controversies with Smith, both being exiles, escaping from that church authority which would have kept them both in some order at home.

My researches respecting Clifton enable me to

[25] Young, p. 453.

enlarge the accounts we have of him, and to fix certain dates in his life, important not only in his personal history, but in the history of the church of which he was one of the founders. Bradford does not inform us in which of the parishes of Nottinghamshire he exercised his ministry while he remained in the church, and whence his religious influence on his neighbours must have emanated. I find, however, that he was instituted on July 11th, 1586, to the rectory of Babworth, a country village a short distance from Scrooby, now the seat of the family of Simpson (Bridgeman), the present incumbent being one of that family. He is also in all probability the minister of the same name who was instituted on February the 12th, 1585, to the vicarage of Marnham in the same county of Nottingham. But Babworth was the place at which he resided, though the church there has now no memorials of him.

The dates given above are taken from public ecclesiastical documents, but for what follows we are indebted to a private writing of his family which has been accidentally preserved.

Not long ago, I learned that there was an old Bible of the English translation in the Library of Sir Robert

Taylor's Institution at Oxford,[26] where, on the blank leaves, were divers memoranda of events occurring in a family of the name of Clifton. And on further inquiry, I found that what had occurred to me as possible was right, and that the entries did relate to this Richard Clifton and other members of his family, and that they were for the most part in the handwriting of one of his sons. Valuable they are, though little more than mere genealogical memoranda, such as are presented to us in the Visitation Books concerning families of a higher rank, and presenting us with nothing that concerns the opinions or the history, more especially the religious history, of the persons to whom they relate. They will be found however to give some precision to the narrative, which precision we feel for ever the want of when perusing the writings of Bradford.

From this source then we draw the information that Richard Clifton was the son of a Thomas Clifton, who lived at one of the Normantons in the county of Derby; that he was the eldest of a large family, issue of two marriages: of the first there being, beside him-

[26] From a slight notice of it in that useful publication, the Notes and Queries, vol. vii, p. 354.

self, Edward, John, Jane, Ellinor, Anne, and Dorothy; and of the second, Stephen, William, and Jane.

He was born at Normanton: but here, as the information is important in its bearing upon the subject of this treatise, it will be more satisfactory if the words of the writer are given:—"Richard, eldest son of Thomas Clifton, and born at Normanton above-said, married Anne, daughter to J. Stuffen of Warsop, in the county of Nottingham, September, Anno 1586. He was minister and preacher of the Gospel at Babworth, in the said county, and had issue by his wife three sons, Zachary, Timothy, and Eleazer; and three daughters, Mary, Hannah, and Priscilla, all born at Babworth aforesaid.

"Richard Clifton, with his wife and children, came unto Amsterdam in Holland, August, 1608. Anne, wife of the said Richard, died at Amsterdam, 3d September, Anno 1613, and was buried in the South church. Vixit Ann. 58.

"Richard Clifton died at Amsterdam, 20th May, 1616, and was buried in the South church. Vixit, Ann. 63." [27]

[27] I am indebted for a very careful transcript of these notes to my learned and very accurate friend, the Rev. J. W. Burgon, of Oriel College, the author of the Life of Sir Thomas Gresham.

We are thus enabled to fix the time of his birth to in or about 1553, so that he was not much above fifty years old when he fell under the animadversions of the ecclesiastical authorities. The precise date of his departure to Holland, August, 1608, is valuable, inasmuch as we have hitherto been left to gather that important date from information not critically given. He married, we see, just when he had obtained the rectory of Babworth, which has always been considered a desirable piece of preferment. His wife was a member of a Derbyshire family of ancient gentry, the Stuffyns of Sherbrook, in the parish of Pleasley in Derbyshire, to which the Nottinghamshire parish of Warsop adjoins. She lived five years, and he seven in their voluntary exile: and when we see in what a disturbed state the church at Amsterdam was which he joined when his companions of his own church, with Robinson and Brewster at their head, removed to Leyden, it is perhaps no unreasonable inference that they both sank not unwillingly as well as religiously to their rest.

The connection of this Mr. Clifton with the old family of Clifton, of Clifton in Nottinghamshire, is not known; but it is probable that there was some con-

nection from the identity of surname, proximity of residence, and correspondency of position; and this is rendered more probable by his marriage in the family of Stuffyn, who, we are told by the Lysonses, could trace their ancestry from the reign of King Edward the First.[28] One of the latest memorials of them was a monumental inscription in the church of Pleasley, of which the following is a copy, the original has disappeared since 1802.

The Stuffyns.

"Here, with his ancestors, lyeth the mortal part of John Stuffyn of Sherbrook, gentleman, who, at his house there, in the month of January, A. D. 1695, yielded up his loyal breath, aged 80 years. He left issue by Mary his wife, daughter and sole heir of John Ferne, of Hopton, gentleman, John Stuffyn of Sherbrook, son and heir of Hopton of the inheritance of his mother, and Mary and Bridget (William and Hercules died without issue)."

The heiress married in the family of Hacker.

The three daughters of Mr. Clifton died before the family left England, in infancy or childhood: but the

[28] History of Derbyshire, 4to, 1817, p. cxlviii.

three sons seem to have accompanied their parents into exile, and to have thenceforth lived for the most part at Amsterdam, where two of them died; viz.—Timothy who was born in 1595 and died in 1663, and Eleazer born in 1598 and died in 1668.

Zachary Clifton, the eldest son, to whom the Bible belonged, and who wrote most part of the family-memoranda, was born on May 12th, 1589. In the earlier part of his life he lived at Richmond in Yorkshire, for there the two children, issue of his first marriage, were born in 1620 and 1624; and there his wife, a daughter of Arthur Hipps of that place, by Dorothy Johnson[29] his wife, died in 1625, aged twenty-six. Five years after we find him living at Amsterdam, where, on April 22d, 1631, he married his second wife Elizabeth, daughter of Laurence and Catherine Wayte, of Cookridge, near Leeds. Of this marriage there was issue, ten children who were all born at Amsterdam, between 1632 and 1648. On November 1st, 1652, he left Amsterdam, and about two

[29] She was probably a near relation of Francis Johnson, the tutor of Smith, and the pastor of the separatist church at Amsterdam, who, as well as his brother George, whom he is charged with having excommunicated, were originally from Richmond. See Brook, vol. ii, p. 99.

months after fixed his residence at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where he appears to have lived for the remainder of his life. He died there on May 26th, 1673, and was buried in All-Hallows Church.

Thomas Toller.

Thomas Toller. Richard Clifton, clerk, was named, in 1593, one of the two supervisors of the will of Richard Jessop, of Heyton, near Babworth, gentleman, whose younger brother, Francis Jessop, appears to have been the person of that name, whom we find fighting by the side of Clifton in the controversies which so much disturbed the harmony of the English emigrants at Amsterdam. And with Clifton was joined another clergyman, Thomas Toller, then a young man who may reasonably be presumed to have been residing in that neighbourhood, though no institution of him to any Nottinghamshire benefice has been found; and if so then he is doubtless to be counted among the preachers of Basset-Lawe who contributed to raise that spirit of opposition to the ecclesiastical arrangements of the country which led ultimately to the emigration: for it is certain that he was, during a pretty long life, one of the most zealous Puritan ministers of the time, strong in his opposition to the ceremonies, though not

going the extreme length of separation. His field of pastoral and ministerial labour was for the greater part of his life the large and populous parish of Sheffield. He was presented to this cure, in 1597 or 1598, by his friends the family of Jessop, and there he spent the remaining years of his life, dying in 1644. Dr. Calamy, the biographer of the latest generation of the genuine Puritan ministers, refers to him as having been an instrument of much good in that large and populous town. We have a curious remain of his, in a kind of ecclesiastical survey of the deanery of Doncaster, with notes of the character of some of the incumbents, and especially with respect to their leaning to or against the ceremonies.[30] What his own leaning was and the leaning of his coadjutor in the work, Mr. Richard Clark, the vicar of Braithwell, is sufficiently apparent in the document itself. There were eighteen out of about seventy ministers who were more or less disaffected to the ceremonies. The date appears to be about the year 1612.

Robert Gifford.

Robert Gifford is the name of another minister spoken of by Bradford as having been

[30] This curious paper may be seen among Birch's Manuscripts in the British Museum. Additional 4293, No. 21.

"hotly persecuted by the Prelates,"[31] and who may therefore be presumed to be one of those who contributed to produce the strong Puritan feeling which pervaded these parts of the kingdom. He is classed by Toller in the paper before spoken of among those ministers who "seemed weary of the ceremonies." His benefice was Laughton-en-le-Morthen, in Yorkshire, but adjoining to the parish of Worksop. In him the spirit of nonconformity was not so powerful as to urge him to separation, but, like his neighbour Bernard of Worksop, he so far conformed as to retain possession of his benefice, which he kept till his death in 1649. He was a Master of Arts, and held this living nearly half a century. His monumental inscription yet remains in the church at Laughton. One of this family, Emmanuel Gifford, was of the bedchamber to King James the First: another was the Major-General John Gifford of the Parliament army: and a daughter of the family married Francis Vincent a near kinsman of Philip Vincent, the author of the Relation of the Pequot war, 1638.

One other minister who must have contributed to this alienation of men's minds from the Reformed

[31] Young, p. 422.

Church of England as by law established, remains to be mentioned. His name was HUGH BROMHEAD, a native of these regions, being of the family of the name which was seated at North Wheatley. He is not one of whom Bradford speaks; but we have his own testimony in a letter still existing preserved in the British Museum. He was not, like Bernard, Toller, and Gifford, content with a qualified conformity, but, imitating Smith and Clifton, he went the whole length of Separation: and was not inferior to Smith himself in hostility to the established church. In his judgment it was "Babylon, the mother of all abominations, the habitation of devils, and the hold of all foul spirits, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird." But I will do him the justice to place in the Appendix the whole of the letter in which these expressions are contained. It will be found to give in a concise form, a good account of the principles and the practices of the Nottinghamshire Separatists, perhaps as plain and good an account as can anywhere be found. At the same time while we may condemn a certain harshness of expression which may have been learned in the Marprelate school, it is impossible not to admire

Hugh Bromhead.

the depth of a religious spirit which is apparent in it, and an heroic devotion to what was deemed a sacred duty, which no one who peruses it can doubt to be sincere. Can we wonder, however, that the manifestations of feeling or opinion by divines of this taste and spirit, whether assumed or the result of deep and earnest feeling, should call forth counter-manifestations, equally unjustifiable (the principle in both cases was the same: the difference in the application arising only in the difference of the power): or can we hesitate to admit that if for no other reason, yet out of regard for the maintenance of the public peace, it was highly proper that some restraint should be imposed upon them. Liberty of conscience and liberty of railing, are surely two quite different things; but the punishment in those days of even the most atrocious libellers was far too severe.

Bromhead was amongst the early emigrants to Holland, perhaps going in company with Smith. He settled at Amsterdam, and we have it upon his own authority, that he was a member of Smith's church. He was no member of the Scrooby or Leyden church, where, under the influence of Robinson, a better spirit and feeling prevailed. The distinction of

Smith's church, and Robinson's church, the Gainsborough and the Scrooby churches, though agreeing in the point of the duty of separation, ought always to be kept in view. It was the latter which formed the Plymouth emigration, and which flourished when Smith's church had come to nothing. We know not what at last happened to Bromhead.

When Smith and his church had removed themselves to Holland, what was wanted by those persons who had come to the determination to break off from the communion of the general Church of England, and who did not choose to accompany or to follow Smith, was a central point at which they could assemble for worship and for discipline, and a central person about whom they might cling, and to whose guidance and judgment they might be willing to defer.

William Brewster.

And this seems to have been the position which was occupied by WILLIAM BREWSTER, which was at once what he desired and what was yielded to him by his simpler and less cultivated neighbours around. He fully sympathized with them and with the ministers of whom we have spoken, in his

dislike of the ceremonies; his disapprobation of the constitution of the church; his hatred of those measures of severity by which it was thought to extinguish the Puritan spirit; in his admiration of the Puritan life; and in his persuasion that there was in Scripture indications of the kind of form in which communities of Christians should be constituted sufficient to guide the practice of Christians in all times. And being a little raised above the rest in fortune, attainments, and social position, all we read of him seems to be but in the natural course of things, and had there been no Brewster at hand, it is probable that no Separatist Church would have been gathered after Smith and the Gainsborough people had withdrawn; but the Basset-Lawe mind would have returned to its former state of quietude when the generation which had been wrought upon by the over-zealous Puritan ministers had passed away. [32]

Brewster's, therefore, is a most important name in the

[32] It is a remarkable fact that when under the protection of the Act of Toleration, 1689, Separatists were allowed to form themselves into communities, and to erect places of worship, only one such congregation was founded in the whole of Basset-Lawe Hundred. It was at Retford, and had no long continuance. The Whites at Walling-wells on the Yorkshire border had for some years nonconformist ministers conducting religious services in their hall.

history of this movement, and we have now to collect what we can of his English history. Little enough it is for such a man, and for that little we are chiefly indebted to his friend and biographer Bradford. Yet I have to add one important fact, which it is extraordinary that Bradford should have omitted.

"After he had attained some learning, viz. the knowledge of the Latin tongue and some insight into the Greek, and spent some small time at Cambridge, and there being first seasoned with the seeds of grace and virtue, he went to the Court, and served that religious and godly gentleman, Mr. Davison, divers years, when he was Secretary of State; who found him so discreet and faithful, as he trusted him above all others that were about him, and only employed him in matters of greatest trust and secresy. He esteemed him rather as a son than a servant, and for his wisdom and godliness in private, he would converse with him more like a familiar than a master. He attended his master when he was sent in ambassage by the Queen into the Low Countries (in the Earl of Leicester's time) as for other weighty affairs of state, so to receive possession of the cautionary towns;[33] and in token and

[33] That is, Flushing and Brill.

sign thereof the keys of Flushing being delivered to him in her Majesty's name, he kept them some time, and committed them to his servant, who kept them under the pillow on which he slept, the first night. And at his return the State honoured him[34] with a gold chain, and his master committed it to him and commanded him to wear it when they arrived in England, as they rode through the country, until they came to the Court. He afterwards remained with him untill his troubles, when he was put from his place about the death of the Queen of Scots, and some good time after, doing him many offices of service in the time of his troubles."[35]

To this neither the researches of Dr Young in America nor those of any person at home have yet made much addition. His affiliation, his place of birth, the time of his birth, the school in which he acquired the Latin language, the college at Cambridge in which he resided for a short time, the time when he entered the service of Davison, the exact situation which he occupied in Davison's service, not one of these is known with any certainty; and the time of the surrender of the

[34] That is, Davison.

[35] Young, p. 463.

cautionary towns, 1585, and of the fall of Davison which was early in 1587, are the first dates that can be said to be firmly established in the history of the life of Brewster. A conjecture only, or rather a probable inference, can be made as to the time of his birth; for Bradford elsewhere tells us that "their reverend elder, our dear and loving friend, died on the 16th of April, 1644, being near fourscore years of age if not all out."[36] This would carry back his birth to about the year 1564, which would make him only twenty-three at the time of Davison's fall. But 1560 is probably nearer the truth: for Morton, in his *New England's Memorial*, speaks of him as being eighty-four at the time of his death, which he places in 1643, not 1644; and Morton was the nephew of Bradford, and had papers of his now lost.

Brewsters of Nottinghamshire.

His affiliation is also a point not yet ascertained. We have already had occasion to observe that there was a William Brewster assessed to the Subsidy of 1571 in the township of Scrooby-cum-Ranskill. This could not be the William Brewster of whom we are speaking, but it might very well be his father. There was also a Henry Brewster

[36] Young, p. 61.

contemporary with the elder William, who was the vicar of Sutton-upon-Lound or Sutton-cum-Lound, to which Scrooby was ecclesiastically annexed. There was also a James Brewster who succeeded Henry in the living of Sutton. So that it is clear that there was a family of Brewsters inhabitants of this part of Nottinghamshire in the Tudor reigns; for we cannot doubt that William Brewster stood in some kind of relationship to the three persons of the name, although that relationship does not at present rest on sufficient evidence. We have no register of baptisms for that period at Scrooby, and the register of Sutton, though it contains much that relates to James Brewster, has nothing whatever that touches on Willliam; nor are any wills of these Brewsters known at York or Southwell.

The name of Brewster, which is of the same obvious origin with the surname Brewer, is one of those which might originate in many different places, and is therefore not to be looked upon as binding all those who inherited it in the bonds of consanguinity. The best of the name were in Essex and Suffolk; and we find in the Visitation of Lincolnshire, 1634, that a Thomas Brewster, who was indisputably of the family in Essex, was then settled at Burwell in that county. But this

throws no light on the early connections of the Brewsters who were settled at and about Scrooby. Yet the fact that James Brewster, the vicar of Sutton, married a lady of a Suffolk family affords one of those distant and uncertain intimations which often prove to the genealogical inquirer but one of those pale lights which are said sometimes to beguile the traveller in unfrequented wilds. Whether a complete investigation of the history of the Brewsters in the counties of Suffolk and Essex, where they have long occupied a conspicuous and most respectable position, would comprehend within their natural alliances these Nottinghamshire Brewsters, can neither be affirmed nor denied: but certain it is that when no proof and no suggestion of probability is to be found in all that Mr. Jermyn or Mr. Davy, the two Suffolk genealogists, have collected concerning the family, it can only be by very persevering research indeed, or by some most fortunate accident, such as the discovery of letters which may have passed between them, that the connection will ever be shown. We are beyond the reach of parish registers, and no Visitation Book or Inquisition will here assist us.

The Suffolk and Essex Brewsters.

It is however a fact worthy our notice, that there

was community of opinion as well as of surname between the emigrant to America and the Brewsters in Suffolk. Of this the continued existence of the little Independent chapel at Wrentham, which was built by one of the Brewsters of Suffolk after the restoration for a congregation of Separatists, is an obvious proof. In correspondence with this is another fact, that Francis Brewster of Wrentham was nearly connected by marriage with two of the most eminent Puritan ministers of the time of King Charles the First, Edmund Calamy and Matthew Newcomen, two of the Smectymnuus,[37] and that his son Robert Brewster was a member of one of Cromwell's Parliaments. The Brewsters of the county of Suffolk were a family of coat armour bearing a chevron ermine between three silver étoiles on a sable field,—stars breaking through the darkness of night; a suitable device for the American Brewster. Whoever desires to know more of the Brewsters of Suffolk will find

[37] I derive this fact from the Harl. MS. 6071, fol. 491, a singular but neglected volume of genealogy. It has no author's name, nor does the catalogue give us any information on that point: but it is clearly an autograph of Matthias Candler, a Puritan divine, of whom Dr. Calamy gives an account, in which he speaks of his fondness for curious historical inquiry.

abundant gratification by referring to the papers of Mr. Jermyn and Mr. Davy, recently added to the treasures of the British Museum, and to No. 1560 of the Harleian collection of manuscripts.

Brewster must have been a man of some position by birth to have obtained an appointment in Davison's service. His residence in the family of Davison may of itself account for his original leaning to the Puritan party: for Davison was eminently a Puritan himself, one of the more reflective and philosophical, we may believe, of the party, extending his views, as Brewster did, beyond the mere ceremonies, to the great principles which ought to govern men in the management of ecclesiastical affairs, and in their dealings with each other respecting them. I know not that we have decided evidence of what were Davison's opinions on these points or what his own religious practice may have been. There was possibly another influence working on Brewster while he lived with Davison: George Cranmer, another of Davison's assistants or servants, being fond of theological and ecclesiastical studies, having been a pupil of Hooker and assisting him in his work on Ecclesiastical Polity. He also lived much with Sir Edwin

Origin of Brewster's Puritanism.

Sandys, who is quite to be ranked among the ecclesiastical inquirers and reformers of the time. His *Europæ Speculum*, the result of his travels on the continent for the purpose of observing what was the religious state of other countries (in which journey Cranmer accompanied him) is full of bold remarks and interesting observations. Cranmer, less fortunate than Brewster, was slain in Ireland as early as 1600. He had not, like Brewster, forsaken the higher paths of public life.

I need not go into the particulars of the fall of Davison which is quite matter of public history; and it is hardly necessary to say that his fall must have occasioned much uneasiness to Brewster on his own account, as it put a stop to his advancement in the course of life which had been marked out for him, and forced him into some other path. If Brewster viewed the conduct of the court in the light in which it is generally viewed now, it would not raise his admiration of kingly government in church or state, though perhaps neither he nor any one in those times knew everything which was requisite to be known to form a just judgment on that mysterious affair: nor is it yet thoroughly understood. However, from the fall of his

master, Brewster's connection with politics and the Court was at an end, and we have only to view him as remaining for some time with Davison to comfort, and, if possible, to assist him.

We now resume Bradford's narrative, which contains the only materials we have for the next seven years of Bradford's life.

"Afterwards he went and lived in the country, in good esteem among his friends, and the good gentlemen of those parts, especially the godly and religious. He did much good in the country where he lived, in promoting and furthering religion: and not only by his practice, and example, and provoking, and encouraging of others, but by procuring of good preachers in all places thereabouts, and drawing on of others to assist and help to forward in such a work; he himself most commonly deepest in the charge, and sometimes above his ability. And in this state he continued many years, doing the best good he could, and walking according to the light he saw, untill the Lord revealed further unto him. And in the end, by the tyranny of the bishops against godly preachers and people, in silencing the one and persecuting the other,

Brewster's retirement into the country after Davison's fall.

he and many more of those times began to look further into particulars, and to see into the unlawfulness of their callings, and the burden of many antichristian corruptions, which both he and they endeavoured to cast off, as they also did."[38]

Here is a remarkable instance of the want of specialty which runs through all the writings of Bradford. He does not even inform us to what place Brewster retired; who were the clergymen whom he was a means of introducing into the churches around him; who were the good gentlemen with whom he associated; whence came the resources from which he was able to maintain hospitality, and to do so much good. But the want of greater particularity leads the reader into error. I would not say of Bradford, who appears to have been a very honest man, that there is *suppressio veri;* but he leaves us with the impression that Brewster had an independent fortune, and led a life without occupation, and that his whole time was devoted to the study of sacred things, and to acts of benevolence and devotion, when in reality the fact was much otherwise.

That Scrooby was the place to which he removed,

[38] Young, p. 465.

has been already shown; it is also shown who were some of the clergy with whom he must have associated: and I have now to add what has not before been surmised, that his life in this the active period was not one of meditation only, and acts of voluntary exertion, but that he held an important office at Scrooby, which must have made large demands upon his thoughts and time for things which were purely secular: and which brought to him a certain annual income, perhaps the best part of his revenues. This Bradford has not told us.

I have already stated that Scrooby was a post-town on the great road from London to Berwick. It communicated with Tuxford on the south, and Doncaster on the north. It occurred to me when casting about for any possible source of information respecting this principal person in the movement, that this being the case, if any accounts of the Post-master-general of the time when Brewster lived were in existence, something might be found in them respecting him. Such accounts do exist: and in them I found not a few casual notices of Brewster as an inhabitant of Scrooby, but that *he himself held for many years the office of*

Receives the appointment of Post-master of Scrooby.

Post-master, or Post, as the term then was, at Scrooby.

The earliest accounts of the Post-master-general now known to exist are those of Thomas Randolph, which begin in 1566, and after him of Sir John Stanhope, who was appointed to the office by letters patent bearing date at Westminster, June 20th, in the thirty-second year of Elizabeth, 1590. Unfortunately, Randolph's accounts do not present us with the names of the Post-masters on the road, nor do those of Sir John Stanhope for the first four years of his tenure of the office. But in his account declared before Lord Burghley, the Lord High Treasurer, and Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the last day of March, 1597, for the three preceding years, the names of the Post-masters at the different stages on the great roads are all set forth, and so continued to be for all the time that Sir John Stanhope held the office.

In this account, from April, 1594, to April, 1597, occurs the following entry:—

"William Brewster, Post of Scrooby, for his ordinary wages serving her Majesty all the time aforesaid at 20*d.* per diem, £91. 6*s.* 8*d.*"

Sir John Stanhope next accounts for the two years

April 1st, 1597, to March 31st, 1599. Here we have the same entry of the payment to Brewster of £60. 16*s.* 8*d.*

Again he accounts for the three years from April 1st, 1599, to March 31st, 1602, with the same entry of the payment to Brewster of £91. 6*s.* 8*d.*

Sir John Stanhope accounts again, being then Lord Stanhope, from April 1st, 1602, to March 31st, 1605. Here we find that the daily wages of Brewster had been advanced from 20*d.* to 2*s.* a day, from the 1st of July, 1603, as expressed in the following entry:—

"William Brewster, Post of Scrooby, for his wages as well at 20*d.* per diem for 456 days, begun the 1st of April, 1602, and ended the last of June, 1603, £38.: as also at 2*s.* per diem for 640 days, begun the 1st of July, 1603, and ended the last of March, 1605, £102."

The next account is for two years, viz. from April 1st, 1605, to March 31st, 1607. Brewster receives £73.

The latest account in which Brewster's name occurs is that from April 1st, 1607, to March 31st, 1609:—

"William Brewster, Post of Scrooby, for his wages at 2*s.* per diem for 183 days, begun the 1st of April,

1607, and ended the last of September, 1607, £18. 6*s.*; and then Francis Hall succeeding him at 2*s.* per diem for 548 days, begun the 1st of October, 1607, and ended the last of March, 1609, £73. 2*s.*"

End of his services as Post-master.

It is much to be regretted that the name of each Post-master was not given for a few years earlier, as we should then have been able to arrive at the precise period when Brewster received this appointment, and this would have shown us how soon after the fall of Davison he was provided for by this government appointment. All we know on this head is, that he was in full possession on the 1st of April, 1594, and that he continued to hold the office till the 30th of September, 1607, on which day he resigned it, and a successor was appointed.

Now the holding this office explains to us in the first place how it happens that we find him inhabiting such a mansion as the Manor, which had been the residence of an archbishop, disproportionate we must believe to the circumstances of Brewster as a private man, but not so to one who had to keep relays of horses for forwarding the letters, and to find rest and refreshment for travellers on this the great highway

to the north.[39] The office of Post-master on the great roads in those days was one requiring more attention and bringing with it higher responsibilities than the same office does at present, when it is little more than the receiving and transmitting letters on a system well considered and already in full operation; but in those days there were no cross-posts, so that the few Post-masters who were dotted about the country had to provide for very distant deliveries, which must have been done by special dispatches, as well as to discharge the functions of the inn-keeper for the travellers *by post*.[40]

[39] The stages on the Great North Road, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, are here given from the most authentic source of information:—

London.	Newark.	Durham.
Waltham.	Tuxford.	Newcastle.
Ware.	Scrooby.	Morpeth.
Royston.	Doncaster.	Hexham.
Caxton.	Ferrybridge.	Hautewesel.
Huntingdon.	Wetherby.	Carlisle.
Stilton.	Boroughbridge.	Alnwick.
Stamford.	North Allerton.	Belford.
South Witham.	Darnton.	Berwick.
Grantham.		

[40] The Surtees Society has lately given to the world a volume of Letters and other Papers of the family of Matthew Hutton, the Archbishop of York. In this volume we have an account of the

Neighbouring Post-masters.

In Brewster's days Rowland Whyte the lively correspondent of many of the nobility of the time was the "Post of the Court;" and it may serve to show other acquaintance at least of Brewster, if we state, that Henry Foster was during the whole of his time the post of Tuxford; John Heyford the post of Ferrybridge, and Nicholas Heyford, and after him Ralph Aslaby the post of Doncaster. Heyford and Aslaby were both names of respectable families in the south part of the West-riding of Yorkshire, corresponding in position, it may be believed, with the Brewsters. And this leads me to remark that though I cannot but wish that Bradford had informed us that Brewster held this office, yet that his holding it is by no means inconsistent with what Bradford does relate of him. It does not, for instance, invalidate his having been at the

expenses of Sir Timothy Hutton, the Archbishop's son, on a journey to and from London, in 1605. He paid the "Post" at Scrooby, who must have been Brewster, for a conveyance (post-chaise) and guide to Tuxford 10 shillings, and for a caudle, supper, and breakfast, 7 shillings and 10 pence, so that he slept under Brewster's roof. On his return, he paid 8 shillings to the post of Scrooby for conveying him to Doncaster, then reckoned 7 miles; and 2 shillings for burnt sack, bread, beer, and sugar to wine, and 3 pence to the ostler."—Hutton Volume, p. 197-204.

University, or his having been in the service of a Secretary of State, and having fallen with his master. His holding this office is indeed rather favourable to these representations than the contrary, since it shows that he had some interest among those who were the dispensers of government patronage. Nor in such an office would he be precluded from nursing a brood of discontents, and from comparing political chicanery with the simplicity of the gospel, or from indulging in religious inquiry, religious meditation, and religious exercises. It would not prevent him from associating with the better part of the population around him, amongst whom there must have been many who were wrought upon by the preachers of whom we have spoken, or from being instrumental in bringing Puritan ministers to the neighbouring churches as they became vacant; and we may believe also that it supplied the means, in some measure at least, by which he maintained so much hospitality and did so much good by his purse. It does not appear in anything that is yet known of them that the Brewsters of Nottinghamshire had lands of their own, the chief source of income to gentlemen in those days who were not engaged in public employments.

Brewster, we see, held the office till the last day of September, 1607. Here is another date of importance in his life; but now arises the question, under what circumstances did he retire from the duties of his employment; was it a voluntary or a forced resignation? Did he retire having formed the intention of following the example of Smith by removing himself and his little church to Holland? or, was he removed by the government of the time to signify the disapprobation which they could not but feel at seeing the countenance which he gave to the Separatists, and that he himself was in a regular course of action which, as the law then stood, was in defiance of public authority, and subjecting him to large penalties. It may be in the power of some future inquirer to answer these questions; but for the present it must be acknowledged that it is only a proximate solution at which we can arrive; and that the probabilities seem rather to incline to its being a forced removal than a voluntary retirement. What we actually *know* is, that before the September of that year the Church was brought into some order: Robinson and Clifton were become the pastor and teacher, and he the elder: that in April, 1608, he had

Circumstances under which he left the office not fully known.

been fined by the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes for non-appearance to their citation; and that it was in August, 1608, that Clifton arrived at Amsterdam. The date 1607 in Bradford's margin leads us to suppose that he removed from Scrooby with the intention of proceeding to Holland before the close of that year.

But while attending to William Brewster we must not forget that the ecclesiastical affairs of Scrooby were, in his time, under the superintendence of two ministers of his name, who were in succession vicars of Sutton. To these, as probably his near relations, and certainly his near neighbours, we must now attend. *Other Nottinghamshire Brewsters.*

In the Bishop's Certificates of persons presented to Benefices within their dioceses, we find this entry in that presented by the Archbishop of York for 1565:— "Dominus Henricus Brewster clericus admissus fuit ad Vicariam Ecclesiæ Parochialis de Sutton super Londe, decanatus de Newark [Retford], com. Nottingham; per mortem naturalem ultimi incumbentis ejusdem, adtunc vacantem." He held the living till his death in February, 1597-8. He was married, but there is no trace of his having had chil- *Henry.*

dren. Agnes, his widow, was buried at Sutton, on the 15th of March following.

There is nothing from which we can infer concerning him that he had any leaning to the Puritan party in the church, or the contrary. In fact little more is known about him.

It is different with JAMES BREWSTER, who succeeded Henry Brewster as Vicar of Sutton, and held the living till his death in January, 1613-4. He was buried at Sutton on the 14th of that month. His wife's name was Mary, and she is doubtless the "Mrs. Mary Brewster, widow," who was buried at Sutton, on April 7th, 1637. Their children, as they are to be collected from the Register of Sutton, were, Grace, baptized in 1600; Elizabeth, 1603; Susanna, 1606; Judith, 1609. Grace married William Glaive on October 22d, 1620; Judith, Edward Oldfield on November 5th, 1633. Susanna appears to have died unmarried in December, 1637. As a Mr. Welbeck is said to be father-in-law to James Brewster in Slack's account of the proceedings respecting the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene at Bawtry, it may be presumed that this Mary was originally Mary Welbeck. The Welbecks came from Suffolk, and were principal

James.

people in the parish of Sutton. The heiress married Cordel Savile, a member of the great Yorkshire family of that name.

Brewster did a good service to the parish during the period of his incumbency; for he transcribed all the entries which had been made in an older book, of the Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, from the year 1538, and continued the Register, all in his own hand, which was a very fair one, to near the time of his death. He records this his labour, together with the liberality of the church-wardens in some Sternholdian stanzas, of which a very small specimen will be sufficient, and more than sufficient:—

"Church-wardens next which did succeed
In place and office set,
Did recompense the writer's pains
In love and kindness great.
George Bingley himself for Sutton town,
John Redshaw in Lound likewise,
Did labour much, and did procure
In honest sort and guise,
True fruits of love from every one,
As God their hearts inclined
With cheerfulness in godly sort," &c.

In 1604, he was instituted to the vicarage of Gringley-on-the-Hill, a well-known place on the high

road between Bawtry and Gainsborough; but this did not draw him away from Sutton.

Whether this person had that deep and earnest sense of religion which is the basis of the Puritan character, may admit of some reasonable doubt: but when we find that he neglected to pay his first-fruits for some years after his institution to one of his livings, and that he was a defaulter in the payment of his quota to the subsidy granted to Queen Elizabeth towards the close of her reign, by the clergy of the Province of York, it would appear that he was not a very nice observer of what was due from him to the church of which he was a minister. Whether he refused the payment contumaciously cannot now be certainly determined: but though cited in his own church to make the payment, which was only six shillings and eightpence, at Tuxford, within forty days, he neglected to do so, and the neglect was returned to the Exchequer, that proceedings might be taken against him.[41]

[41] Copy of the Archbishop's Certificate:—"Jacobus Brewster clericus, vicarius ecclesiæ de Sutton super Lound, monitus fuit apud ecclesiam suam de Sutton predictam tricesimo die Martii ultimo preterito, per Georgium Ormeroid clericum deputatum meum ad solvendum apud Tuxford decimo die Aprilis tunc proximo sequente

But the most remarkable part of the history of James Brewster is his conduct in the affair of the Bawtry Hospital: and as these proceedings took place under the immediate inspection of William Brewster, and as a Brewster (probably his near relative) was brought by them into a losing contest with the highest church authority in the diocese, these proceedings seem to be almost a part of the history of William Brewster.

Close to the town of Bawtry, but within the bounds of the parish of Harworth, was an Hospital dedicated to Saint Mary Magdalene. The foundation of it was the charitable act of some person in these parts, who lived at a very remote period; but in the year 1390, in the reign of King Richard the Second, it received so large a benefaction from Robert Morton, then the head of that eminent family, that it was considered as founded anew, and the

The Bawtry Hospital Suit.

illam partem subsidii per ipsum debitam 26 die Martii ultimi preteriti, pro promotione sua predicta: Sed predictus Jacobus Brewster nec apud Tuxford predicto eodem 10 die Aprilis nec alibi per 40 dies postea summam per ipsum debitam (ut prefertur) solvit vel satisfecit, neque dictam summam de proficuis dictæ promotionis nec de bonis aut catallis dicti Jacobi Brewster ullo modo levare seu recipere potui, 6*s*. 8*d*."

Mortons were afterwards looked upon as the founders, and the chapel became the family burying-place.

The circumstances of their benefaction were these. The canons of the House of St. Oswald or Nostel, near Pontefract, had fallen into great pecuniary difficulties under Adam de Bilton, an improvident Prior, and to relieve themselves from the temporary pressure they borrowed money on annuities. Morton advanced to them the large sum of £250., for which the convent agreed to pay eight marks per annum, to the chaplain of the Bawtry Hospital and his successors, who were to celebrate in the chapel, and pray for the good estate of Robert Morton and Joan his wife, while they lived, and for their souls when dead, and for the souls of his father and mother, and of all his relations and benefactors.

Such a foundation was undoubtedly tainted with what, in the days of the Reformation, would be accounted superstition. Yet it lived through the storm, which, in the reigns of Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, swept away so many foundations of its class, where acts of charity to the poor were united with religious services framed in the spirit of the old Christianity of England. I have not been

able to recover any particulars of the means which were used to preserve it; but we may remark that the Archbishop of York had an interest in maintaining it, since the nomination of the master had been placed in him. We know, however, that it did live through the storm, that it continued to enjoy the estate in the lands which from ancient times had belonged to it, and also the annuity which the Canons had been accustomed to pay, and which was paid, on the dissolution of the House, by the Crown. Every thing which savoured of Popery was removed from the service and a Protestant clergyman was appointed master. Dr. William Clayborough, and after him John Houseman, were the masters who immediately preceded James Brewster, who was presented to the mastership by Archbishop Sandys in 1584; the first known event which brings the names of Sandys and Brewster into connection. There were at that time one or two alms people whose dwellings, with a house for the master's residence, and a chapel, which, having long been in ruins, has of late been restored, constituted the whole establishment.

It must always have been a matter notorious that the same law by which so many other foundations of this

mixed kind were subverted, must really have been intended to bear against the Bawtry Hospital. Indeed there were many equivocal cases, and many more where lands (usually small portions) which had been given for religious purposes in the old time, were in lay hands, through the neglect or ignorance of the persons who were commissioned to attend to the carrying out the purposes of the acts of suppression. Lands so circumstanced were technically called *Concealed lands,* as if furtively kept out of the notice of the Crown to which the acts had given them. In the reign of Elizabeth a strict inquiry was instituted into these abuses. Commissioners were sent into all parts of the kingdom. To a body of these commissioners it was, that some persons, with the connivance and approbation of Brewster, the master, presented the Hospital and its possessions, and the commissioners forthwith reported it as a concealment. The foundation was overturned and the whole property seized by the Crown. There was thus an end to his duties and office, and Brewster left Bawtry and went to reside at Chelmsford in Essex.

But the Hospital and its lands, which were certain closes near adjoining, were no sooner in the hands of

the Queen, than they were granted out again as a private possession to Brewster and other persons.

In all these proceedings, which appear to be of very questionable propriety, we do not find that the Archbishop who had presented Brewster made any opposition. He was then an old man, and he died in 1588, four years after Brewster's appointment, on the 8th day of August.

Sandys was succeeded by John Piers, a prelate of another spirit. He took a very different view of the duty of the Archbishop in respect of this foundation, which was under his care in his character of diocesan, and in which he had a special interest as patron. He formed the determination to endeavour to set aside all the proceedings of the Commissioners for Concealed lands; and in this he was supported by another body of Commissioners who were then beginning to act with vigour against every species of canonical irregularity—the Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical.

The first step taken by the Archbishop was formally to depose Brewster from the Mastership. This he did on the ground that he had suffered the overthrow of the Hospital, and had removed himself a hundred miles or more from the place at which he was bound

to residence. His next step was to nominate a new Master, who was John Cooper, M.A. We soon find the Ecclesiastical Commissioners addressing a warrant to the High Sheriff of Nottinghamshire to attach James Brewster, Thomas Short, Thomas Robinson, and others, and to cause them to appear before the Commissioners at York. The charge, that they had profaned and ruinated the house and chapel. This warrant bears date March 6th, 1590.

We have but imperfect notices of what was done by the Commissioners; but it is of the less importance, as the cause was soon removed into a higher Court, and there after many hearings and long argument determined.

A Bill was filed in the Exchequer in Easter Term, 1591, the Archbishop of York against Robinson and others, in which is set forth the right of himself and his successors in the see to the patronage, the attempt of Brewster pretending himself to be Master, to overthrow and dissolve the foundation and to take to himself or to others for his use, the possessions belonging to it, and to free himself from attendance and residence, having, as the Bill sets forth, "wickedly and ungodly combined and confederated himself to

that end with one Thomas Robinson, John Noble, and Thomas Short, who had procured the Hospital to be found as a concealment;" and further, that Robinson, Noble, and Short had utterly profaned the said chapel, converted it into a stable, and carried away the ornaments. The prayer is, that Brewster and the rest may be commanded to yield peaceable possession to the new Master. The bill was settled by Sir John Savile, the very eminent lawyer. Lord Burghley was then lord-treasurer, Fortescue under-treasurer, and Sir Roger Manwood lord chief baron.

An order was made in conformity with the prayer. To this the defendant Robinson demurred, affirming that the Hospital was true concealed lands within the meaning of the statute, improperly withholden from her Majesty, till found out and recovered by the industry and at the charge of the defendants, and that her Majesty had made a conveyance of it in fee-farm to the persons under whom he claimed; that it was really parcel of the dissolved monastery of Nostel, and that the service which had been lately performed in the chapel was perfectly useless, as there were three churches or chapels within a short distance, at which divine service was orderly said. These were probably Harworth, Bawtry, and Austerfield.

It will be seen from this that the question was one which, when argued on the dry legal merits of the case, must have been trying to the judgment of the Court. It was obstinately contested on both sides, and the suit went on through many terms. What is entered on record throws, however, no new light on the facts of the case, and it is useless to go through the repetition of the same arguments. In the course of the proceedings a commission issued for the examination of witnesses, among whom were Anthony Morton, Esquire, then the head of the family, and aged forty-three, and John Mirfyn, the vicar of Harworth, aged threescore and fourteen, who both deposed to the utter profanation of the chapel, in which swine were kept.

Its final issue.

Archbishop Piers did not live to see the termination of the suit. He died on the 28th of September, 1594, and was succeeded by Matthew Hutton. He revived the suit; and, to bring this long story to a conclusion, a final judgment was pronounced in the Court at Westminster in Hilary Term, 1596, establishing the right of the new Master, and annulling all the proceedings of Brewster and his friends.[42]

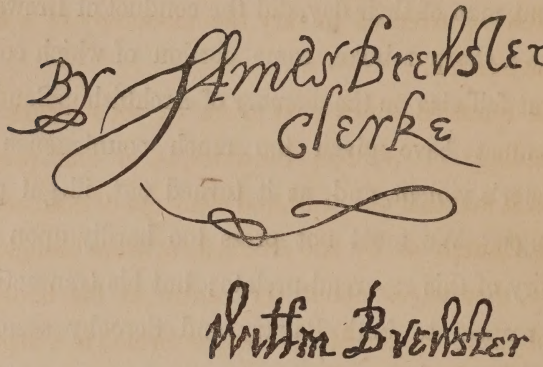
[42] Much concerning these proceedings may be read in Hearne's

Thus, by the decision of an impartial tribunal composed not of churchmen, but of laymen, the most eminent men of their day, did the conduct of Brewster receive a sharp rebuke, some portion of which could not but fall also on the memory of Archbishop Sandys, who must have given too much countenance to Brewster's violent, and, as it turned out, illegal proceedings. We must not press too hardly upon the memory of this reverend prelate; but his transactions with respect to both Bawtry and Scrooby seem of doubtful propriety.

Before closing what I have to say on the Brewsters of Nottinghamshire, I shall present the reader with fac-similes of the signatures of James Brewster and William Brewster. The one is taken from the register book of Sutton-upon-Lound, the other from the fac-simile in Davis's edition of *New England's Memorial*, p. 481. There is so strong a resemblance between them, that when added to the other probabilities, can

Appendix to the Chronicle of Peter Langtoft, printed from a MS. in the Harleian Library, No. 7385. This MS. is the work of Slack, a later master of the Hospital, but his copies of documents are not always correct or intelligible. I have gone to the originals, and have also used evidence not consulted by him.

leave little doubt that they were members of the same family, and in all probability *brothers*.



We have, however, no reason to impute to William Brewster, to whom we must now return, any principal share in this transaction of his namesake, and doubtless near relative, James Brewster, though passing as it did under his immediate observation, he could not but know what was going on, and tenant as he was of the family of Sandys, could not but feel interested in the result. He might also, in the state his mind was, look upon it as an oppressive act of episcopal authority. It would be remarkable, were we not perpetually called to make the observation when perusing the historical writings of Bradford, that he has not the slightest notice of this event, though it

could not but be a subject much talked of in his youth amongst the people with whom he lived who had few occurrences to vary the monotony of a husbandman's life.[43]

The question which next arises in considering the proceedings of William Brewster, is, at what precise period it was that the scattered elements of disaffection to the Church as by law established, were brought to collect themselves about the centre at his house at Scrooby, and the dissidents became formed in a Separatist or Congregational or Independent Church, those terms being identical and only other names for the same thing. That there was a precise period when this was done, and that it was not that the concentration was brought about by slow and almost imperceptible degrees, is evident from what was the general practice

[43] There was also at this time a Thomas Brewster who held an office under government, but to what family of Brewsters he belonged is not known, and probably none would wish to claim him. Evidence exists to show that he was drawn into some misdemeanors in the Court of Remembrance Office in the Exchequer, and also in the Custom House, for which a fine of 500 marks was imposed upon him. This was towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth. It was afterwards mitigated to 200*l.* but this he was unable to pay, and was lying in prison in consequence, when his wife addressed an urgent appeal to Robert Earl of Salisbury, then lord high treasurer, on his behalf.

of communities such as these. They usually began with the entering into a solemn covenant to walk together in a Christian course according to the direction of the word of God, and the choice of the officers which, according to their views, were those, and those only which were pointed out in scripture: namely, as we have before stated, pastor, teacher, elders, and deacons. Manuscripts remain containing accounts of such beginnings of Separatist Churches in other places of a later date, with lists of persons who then entered into communion; and greatly is it to be wished that among the discoveries in literary and religious history, the record of the first beginning of the Scrooby Church should be discovered. It would be a treasure indeed for New-England history, and for the Museum of New Plymouth.

Date of the formation of this congregation not quite ascertained.

This, however, is an event rather to be desired than expected, and we must be content to confine ourselves to making an approximation to the time, and to introducing a new name into our narrative in the pastor or teacher (for it is uncertain which) whom these Basset-Lawe Separatists elected. And first with respect to the time.

The year 1602 is placed in the margin of Bradford's

account of Brewster against the notice, "After they were joined together into communion, he was a special stay and help to them. They ordinarily met at his house on the Lord's day." But this date, if there is not some mistake, must relate to an earlier Church-union than that of which we are speaking, perhaps a union which comprehended also the people who afterwards composed Smith's Church at Gainsborough; for Bradford also tells us that when the Church in Brewster's house began to move towards Holland, which was certainly in the winter of 1607 and 1608, they had continued together "about a year keeping their meetings every Sabbath in one place or another, exercising the worship of God amongst themselves." So that it would seem that the true beginning of this Church as distinct from that of Smith, is to be fixed to the year 1606, about two years after the emigration of Smith and his people.

That Brewster was chosen the elder, and Clifton either the pastor or teacher (probably the latter), seems to admit of no doubt; but at this stage another person appears to have been introduced among them, whose name is the most prominent in all the subsequent history of the Church, and who has left the most printed

writings by which his opinions and character may be understood. He accompanied the Scrooby Church when it removed to Holland, was with it while it remained at Amsterdam, transferred himself with it to Leyden, and witnessed its departure for America, intending, it is understood, to go thither himself, though he never actually took that step. This was JOHN ROBINSON, who had inherited, like Smith, one of those names which are really in a large population like that of England, no *nota-mina*, affording, therefore, little assistance to the critical inquirer. But we know him to have been chosen into one of the highest offices in this church, and we know him, also, by the works which he left behind him, to have been a man of a superior cast of character to the men who were so outrageously zealous against ceremonies and vestments and external authority, all of which have their use in affairs of religion. He was, moreover, a man whose writings may be read now for instruction. I cannot go so far as some persons do and value his essays with those of Bacon; but he must be insensible indeed who does not acknowledge that there is no small amount of original thinking in them, and hints which may be

John Robinson.

applied by any man with advantage in the regulation of his thoughts and conduct. He was also a farther seeing man than some who were associated with him, seeing that having deserted the Church and renounced its authority, it was not to be supposed that they and their posterity would remain stationary precisely where they at first had rested, but that further light might be expected to be struck out by the labour of men of learning, and that it would be their duty as well as their privilege to follow the light that was vouchsafed to them. Historically, indeed, this has been eminently the case both in England and America, and has raised in both countries the question before the legal tribunals, how far men have a right to go in the pursuit of religious truth, who have renounced authority, and where the law shall step in and say,—Thus far shalt thou go and no farther. Such a man is deserving of honour, especially as he added to these something of the meekness of wisdom, much as compared with Smith and some other of the Separatists: "the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever that sect enjoyed." This is the testimony of Robert Baillie, of Glasgow, an eminent Scotch Presbyterian.

It must have been a great advantage to the Basset-Lawe Separatists to have secured the assistance of such a minister as this: and it now becomes a point which it is well worth while to consider, how it happened that such a connection should be formed, since among the few things which are known of the early history of Robinson this is one, that he was living in the earlier part of the reign of James the First in the county of Norfolk, and particularly at Norwich. Now, we have already seen that two of the divines of whom we have spoken had been educated at Christ College, Cambridge (Emmanuel College wherein many other Puritan ministers were educated was then scarcely formed), and among the persons who were admitted there in the year 1592 is a John Robinson who took the degree of M.A. and became a Fellow in 1598. This we learn from Mr. Masters' printed list of the members of this College, 4to, 1749, and he further informs us that in the register of the College this Robinson is said to have been of the county of Lincoln, and adding the conjecture that he is the John Robinson who subsequently lived in Holland. This appears to be a very probable conjecture; and I find Mr. Ashton, to whom I

His earlier history.

pointed out the passage in Masters is inclined to adopt it.[44]

The inference from it will be that he would easily become known to the Separatists at Gainsborough and through them to those of Basset-Lawe. We are hardly warranted in supposing that he was connected with the Thomas Robinson who was so deeply concerned in the affair of the Bawtry Hospital, but it is far from improbable that Robinson was originally of Gainsborough, where in the reign of Charles II Robinsons were chief persons among the Dissenters of that town.

It must not, however, be concealed that Dr. Young states that he was born in 1576, entered Emmanuel College in 1592, took the degree of M.A. in 1600, and B.D. in 1607, and what this very cautious writer states is not to be lightly controverted: but the last of these dates and therefore the earlier dates can hardly belong to this John Robinson. In truth all that can be said of his early history ought at present to be stated with a prudent reserve: but it cannot be as some modern writers have stated that he was con-

[44] Memoir of the Rev. John Robinson, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Fourth Series, vol. i, p. 113.

temporary with Brewster at the same College. His age forbids it.

Benificed near Yarmouth.

We are told that he was beneficed in Norfolk somewhere near Yarmouth. This is far too vague to satisfy even the most moderate curiosity about such a man. In looking over the list of Norfolk incumbents in Blomefield's history of that county, I meet with only one Robinson of his period who was beneficed in any place which could be said to be near Yarmouth.[45] This was the incumbent of the vicarage or perpetual curacy of Mundham, which is about fourteen miles distant from Yarmouth. We have no more of his name than "Robinson:" but as Mundham was an impropriation of the Hospital of St. Giles in Norwich, and as we have the testimony of Dr. Joseph Hall, that Robinson the Separatist had some expectation of being appointed the master of that

[45] History of Norfolk, vol. v, p. 1155. "In 1600 I find it served by Mr. Robinson, a stipendiary curate, and so remains, nominated by the mayor, &c., of the City of Norwich: and in 1603 he returned 144 communicants." The church had been appropriated to the Hospital of St. Giles in Norwich in 1340. It is Mundham Magna or Mundham St. Peter of which I am speaking. Mundham Parva or Mundham St. Ethelbert was also held by St. Giles's Hospital, and so came to the Corporation of Norwich, who nominated the curate here also.

hospital, it seemed a reasonable presumption that Mundham was the benefice in Norfolk, which he is said to have held. But Mr. Ashton appears to have discovered that the incumbent of Mundham, whose surname was Robinson, was named Robert. It is, however, singular that there should be two Robinsons at that time, both brought into connection with St. Giles's Hospital at Norwich, and both clergymen.

We know that John Robinson lived for some time at Norwich. "Witness the late practice in Norwich, where certain citizens were excommunicated for resorting unto and praying with Mr. Robinson, a man worthily reverenced of all the city for the grace of God in him." This occurs in Ainsworth's 'Answer to Crashaw,' and is cited by Mr. Hanbury.[46] Dr. Young has referred me to one of Robinson's Tracts for a more direct testimony. It is his 'People's Plea for the exercise of prophecy,' 16mo, 1618. He dedicated it to "his Christian friends in Norwich and thereabouts," and afterwards says, "even as when I lived with you." *Lives in Norwich.*

We also know that he left Norwich in some disgust.

[46] Historical Memorials relating to the Independents: by Benjamin Hanbury. 8vo, 1839, vol. i, p. 185.

Ephraim Pagitt speaks of "one Master Robinson, who leaving Norwich malcontent, became a rigid Brownist." [47] Dr. Hall in a passage of his Apology against Brownists, cited by Dr. Young, makes this apparently uncharitable insinuation: "Neither doubt we that the mastership of the hospital at Norwich, or a lease from that city (sued for with repulse) might have procured that this separation from the communion, government, and worship of the Church of England should not have been made by John Robinson."

On the whole it may be taken as being very near the truth that he took the office assigned him in the Basset-Lawe Church in 1606 or 1607.

Again and again have we to complain of the want of dates and other specialty in the writings of Bradford: but we may refer to them for a most hearty testimony of respect and affection for the memory of Robinson;

Bradford's testimony to the character of Robinson.

"a man not easily to be paralleled for all things, whose singular virtues we shall not take upon us here to describe. Neither need we, for they so well are known both by friends and enemies. As he was a man learned and of a solid judgment, and of a quick and sharp wit, so was he

[47] Heresiography, 4to, 1655, p. 73.

also of a tender conscience, and very sincere in all his ways, a hater of hypocrisy and dissimulation, and would be very plain with his best friends. He was very courteous, affable, and sociable in his conversation, and towards his own people especially. He was an acute and expert disputant, very quick and ready, and had much bickering with the Arminians, who stood more in fear of him than any of the university. He was never satisfied in himself until he had searched any case or argument he had to deal in thoroughly and to the bottom; and we have heard him sometimes say to his familiars that many times both in writing and disputation, he knew he had sufficiently answered others, but many times not himself; and was ever desirous of any light, and the more able, learned, and holy the persons were, the more he desired to confer and reason with them. He was very profitable in his ministry and comfortable to his people. He was much beloved of them, and as loving was he unto them, and entirely sought their good for soul and body. In a word he was much esteemed and reverenced of all that knew him, and his abilities [were acknowledged] both of friends and strangers."[48] With

[48] Young, p. 451.

this may be compared what is said of him by *Winslowe's.* Winslowe who joined his church while it was at Leyden, and who was one of the party of a hundred, the first instalment of the Leyden church to the English population of America. "'Tis true, I confess, he was more rigid in his course and way at first than toward his latter end; for his study was peace and union as far as might agree with faith and a good conscience; and for schisms and divisions there was nothing in the world more hateful to him. But for the government of the Church of England, as it was in the Episcopal way, the Liturgy, and stinted prayers of the church thereby, yea, the constitution thereof as national, so consequently the corrupt communion of the unworthy and the worthy receivers of the Lord's Supper, these things were never approved of by him, but witnessed against to his death, and are by the church over which he was to this day."[49] Here was something of substantial principle, something very unlike the puerile cavils about the few ceremonial acts which were continued

[49] The reader will find in the Appendix the opinion formed of him by John Shaw, the eminent Presbyterian Minister of the time of the Commonwealth, and may compare it with what he says of other English Separatists, who went to Holland.

from the primeval ages of Christianity, interesting as symbolical, and venerable as of unfathomed antiquity; and we cannot but regard such a man as entitled to a voice in Christian controversies.

With the zeal of Brewster there was, therefore, now united the moderation and prudence, and perhaps the hesitancy, of Robinson. But we have now to introduce upon the stage another person who joined himself to the church when quite a youth, who removed with it to Amsterdam, and from thence to Leyden, and who was in the first ship, the May Flower, which entered the harbour of New Plymouth. He held no office in the Church, but he had the chief share in managing the civil affairs of the colony, and subsequently became the person to whom we are indebted for so much authentic information concerning this movement. This was WILLIAM BRADFORD, to whose energy while still quite a young man the church appears to have been greatly indebted in the trying circumstances which attended its removal from England.

William Bradford.

It is to Dr. Cotton Mather that we are indebted for what is known of the early life of Bradford. He seems to have owed most of his information to writings

of Bradford himself, which are now lost. An unfortunate but very excusable misprint in Dr. Mather's work, or more probably a mistake in the manuscript, has frustrated all former inquirers into the origin and family connections of Bradford, about which curiosity has been alive. In the *Magnalia* we read that he was born at Ansterfield. No such place can be found in the villare of England, and therefore the name was no guide to the country in which inquiry might be made about him with any chance of success. But, in fact, what is printed A*n*sterfield ought to be A*u*sterfield, a village near Scrooby, being about as far to the north-east of Bawtry as Scrooby is to the south.[50] And this point having been ascertained, opportunities were opened for the discovery of the station in life which his family had occupied, to support the representations given in general terms by Dr. Mather, and of the

Mistake in printing Ansterfield for Austerfield.

[50] I had the pleasure of drawing the attention of my highly-esteemed friend the Hon. James Savage of Boston, who visited England in 1842 for the purpose of collecting information concerning the early emigrants, to this fact when the evidence was in a less complete state than it now is. My communication to him on this subject is inserted among his "Gleanings for New England History," in the eighth volume of the Third Series of Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

persons with whom the family of the future Governor of New Plymouth were connected by friendship or alliances.

Austerfield is an ancient village, consisting then, as it does now, of a few houses inhabited by persons engaged in the occupation of husbandry, and a small chapel of a very early age. Ecclesiastically it is dependent on the church of Blythe, and the vicar of that parish appoints the curate. Unlike Scrooby in that respect, whose early registers are lost, Austerfield has preserved them from the beginning in a good state; and it is chiefly by the help of what is recorded in them that we are able to show that this was the birth-place of Governor Bradford, and to give some account, such as it is, of his family.

Bradford born there.

Dr. Mather says that he was sixty-nine years of age at the time of his death, May the 9th, 1657. This would carry back his birth to the year 1588-9; and with this agrees with sufficient exactness the following entry among the baptisms at Austerfield:—

1589, March 19th. William, the son of William Bradfourth—where 1589 is 1590, according to our present mode of dating.

Dr. Mather further informs us that he was born to

some estate, that his parents died when he was young, and that he was brought up by his grandfather and uncles. These statements receive curious support from the entries in the Register, and from fiscal and testamentary documents.

On these authorities the following genealogical account of the Bradfords of Austerfield is based:—

Genealogical account of the Bradfords of Austerfield.

A William Bradford was living there in or about 1575, when he and one John Hanson were the only persons in the township who were assessed to the Subsidy. Bradford was taxed on 20 shillings land, and Hanson on 60 shillings goods, annual value. These were the two grandfathers of the future Governor; and the circumstance, trifling as it is, that they were the only assessable inhabitants of Austerfield, shows at once the general poverty of the place, and that they stood in some degree of elevation above all their neighbours, except the incumbent of the chapel, who, like other clergymen, was not subject to the tax. "William Bradfourth the eldest" was buried January 10th, 1595-6. This was the grandfather of the Governor, who was then about six years old.

Three Bradfords appear in the next generation, who

are the father and uncles of whom Dr. Mather speaks. Their names were William, Thomas, and Robert. The baptism of Robert is the only one found in the register, the others having been born, as it may fairly be concluded, before the commencement of the registers. Robert's baptism is entered thus :—

1561, January 23d, Robert, son of William Bradfourth.

All the three were married and had issue.

(1) William. He married on June 21st, 1584, Alice Hanson, whom I assume, without having *William.* strict proof, to have been the daughter of John Hanson who shared with old William Bradford the honour of being the only subsidy-men at Austerfield. Indeed it can hardly admit of a doubt, since we find that a daughter of John Hanson was baptised by the name of Alice in 1562. John Hanson had married Margaret Gresham on July 23d, 1560. There were Greshams, people of the better account though not called to the Heralds' visitations, dispersed over the country which lies between the northern border of Nottinghamshire and the Yorkshire town of Doncaster. We have no account of the burial of Alice the mother of the Governor; and it seems probable that she married a

second time, as there is the following entry in the register of Austerfield, 1593, September 23d, Robert Briggs and Alice Bradford: and no trace of any other Alice Bradford at that time at Austerfield. The father, William Bradford, was buried on July 15th, 1591, when his son was about a year and a half old.

There were three children, offspring of the marriage of William Bradford and Alice Hanson: viz. Margaret, who was baptised March 8th, 1585-6; Alice, baptised October 30th, 1587; and William (the Governor), who was baptised March 19th, 1589-90. Of these, we have the register of the burial of Margaret on the day after the baptism. We have no further information concerning the Governor's sister Alice.

Thomas. (2) Thomas. One of the uncles to whom devolved the care of the infant, appears in the Register only as having a daughter named Margaret baptised on March 9th, 1577-8.

Robert. (3) Robert, the other uncle, is the only Bradford who is assessed at Austerfield to the subsidy of 1598; the other subsidy-men being John Maudson, Robert Martley, and Robert Bridges. On January 31st, 1585-6, he married Alice Waigestafe,

(Wagstaff),[51] and by her who was buried July 13th, 1600, he had William, Robert, Mary, Elizabeth, and Margaret, who were baptised in 1587, 1591, 1593, 1597, and 1600. William, the eldest son, died young, being buried on April 30th, 1593; and he appears to have lost two children who died unbaptised in 1595 and 1597. He himself was buried on April 23d, 1609, having made his last will on the 15th day of that month.

This will of one of the uncles of the Governor affords us the best means of forming a just opinion of the status of the Bradfords of Austerfield, at the time when lived the only person who entitles them to be worthy objects of historical curiosity. He describes himself "Robert Bradfurth, of Austerfield, yeoman;" and we may observe that Bradfurth or Bradfourth is the more usual orthography of the name in the church register, so uncertain and variable was the orthography of all proper names at that period; also that "yeoman" implies a condition of life a little better than that

His will.

[51] Not "Waingate," as in the 'Collections,' by a mistake of the transcriber. There were Wagstaffs at that time freeholders of Harworth, of whom George Wagstaff was living in 1612; and Roger, who is described as a "husbandman," was a witness in the Hospital suit, 1592.

which would be now indicated by the word. The yeomanry of England in the reign of Elizabeth formed the class next to those who were the acknowledged gentry using coat-armour of right. They lived for the most part on lands of their own. The testator sets out with declarations of his Christian faith expressed in terms of energy a little above the ordinary tone of such exordiums, and his first bequest is of ten shillings to the chapel of Austerfield. To a servant named Grace Wade, he gives the free use of a dwelling-house. He names another servant, and his brother and sister Hall. These must be James Hall and Elizabeth, his wife, originally Bradford, who were married January 25th, 1595. She was no doubt the Elizabeth, daughter of the first William, who was baptised July 10th, 1570. Another small legacy is given to Thomas Silvester, clerk. To his son Robert he gives his best iron-bound wain; the cupboard in the "house," that is, the apartment in the dwelling-house answering to what is now called the parlour; one long table with a frame; and one long form; with his best yoke of oxen; also the "counter wherein the evidences are." He leaves him also a corslet[52]

[52] A piece of armour, an ordinary subject of bequest in wills of this period.

with all the furniture thereto belonging. Having made these specific bequests, he directs that the residue of his property shall be divided equally among his four children, Robert, Mary, Elizabeth, and Margaret, whom he makes executors. They were all under age. Then something in the manner of Eudamidas, he gives the tuition of them till they are of age or married, to three of his friends: my good neighbour, Mr. Richardson, of Bawtry, is to have the care of Robert and Margaret; William Downes, of Scrooby, of his daughter Elizabeth; and Mr. Silvester, of Alkley, of his daughter Mary. In a later part of the will he directs that his son Robert shall have the reversion of two leases; the one of all the King's lands he has in Austerfield, the other of the closes which he has of Mr. Morton in Martin lordship. Austerfield as well as Bawtry was in those days a royal manor, having been acquired by the crown by forfeitures or marriages from the illustrious and well-known line of Nevile and Despenser, and the Bradfords were, we see, farmers of the demesne.

This will show the Bradfords to have been at this time intimately acquainted with the best of the people living in their neighbourhood, *Bradfords well connected.*

if it be allowed that holding a lease from the Catholic family of Morton implies acquaintance with them. The Mr. Richardson to whom he commits two of the children, was next to the Mortons, the most considerable person then at Bawtry. His name was Richard, and he had married Elizabeth Lindley, a daughter of William Lindley, of Skegby, near Mans-

Richardson. field, a Visitation family. Her brother, Francis Lindley, of Skegby, Esquire, married Jane Molineux, daughter of Francis Molineux, of Teversal, Esquire. This lady died in 1633, aged 71, and was buried at Bawtry, where she had a rhyming epitaph:

> "Here lyes Innocence, Meekness, Piety,
> Chastity, Patience, and Sobriety:
> And whatsoever else precious and good,
> Is requisite to complete womanhood."

One of her daughters was the wife of Robert Morton, of Bawtry; and another of Thomas Ledgard,

Ledgard. a native of Bradford, in Yorkshire, but living at Bawtry, as a merchant. The inscription on his tomb celebrates his skill in the construction of mathematical instruments, and his knowledge in everything relating to pilotage. Is it too much to claim him as an early friend of William Bradford? In his will

made in 1632, he bequeathed to his son, Tristram Ledgard, all his books and mathematical instruments. Lindley Richardson, the son of this marriage, was a sponsor at the baptism of one of the daughters of young Robert Bradford, who was thus placed under the care of his father.

Of Downes I know nothing, except that he was a subsidy-man at Scrooby. Silvester was a divine living at Alkley, which is eastward from Austerfield, at no great distance. His will was made in 1615, and it appears by it that he was possessed of a fair estate, and also, what is more to our purpose, of a library of English and Latin books, at a time when in country places in England, books were exceedingly few. This collection of books, religious books probably, in the hands of a friend of the family living near them, was perhaps a treasure of instruction to the governor in his youth. We may notice as a trait of the times, that he gives to the poor scholars of the Grammar School at Rossington, his Cooper's Dictionary, to be chained to a stall in the church, and used by them as long as it will last!

Silvester.

On the whole, it appears that the Bradfords of Austerfield, during the eighteen years that he was

living amongst them, who was destined to be the governor of the first settlement of New England, and who may justly be styled the Moses of the exodus, as Brewster was the Aaron; associated with the best of the slender population by whom they were surrounded.

No marriages have been found of the three daughters of Robert Bradford; but his son, who bore the same name, continued the line at Austerfield. He buried his first wife, whose name was Jane, on March 6th, 1614-5. She brought him two children, Elizabeth and Richard. The sponsors at the baptism of Elizabeth were, Lindley Richardson, Elizabeth Richardson, and Ellen Harrison; this was in 1613. In 1615 he married a second time, Elizabeth Sothwood. The marriage was solemnised *by license of the Archbishop*, a rare event in those days at Austerfield, and showing that she belonged to a family of rather the better class. It is a reasonable presumption that she was of the same family with the Mr. Southwood whose widow was the second wife of Governor Bradford. There was a numerous family, most of whom died in infancy. At the baptism of Mary, one of them, William Thorp, Modlin Benson, and Jane Marsland, were the sponsors.

There is nothing to tempt one to pursue this branch of the subject further. While William was working his way against many adverse circumstances to the distinction which he at last attained, his cousin-german, Robert, remained at Austerfield, sinking, it is to be feared, into poverty and obscurity. Before 1628 he had sold his lands, or at least portions of them, but probably all. The purchaser was Mr. William Vescy, a gentleman of very ancient family, who resided on a patrimonial inheritance at Brampton in Le Morthing, about fifteen miles from Austerfield; who in that year made his will, in which he speaks of "lands at Austerfield, which I bought of Robert Bradford." In 1630, one Robert Wright, a draper, of Doncaster, leaves to "Robert Bradford, of Austerfield," his gray suit of apparel, and to Richard Bradford, his son, one fustian doublet and one pair of hose. Owing to an imperfection in the register, we cannot fix precisely the time when Robert Bradford died, but it was between 1630 and 1640, when he had not attained the age of fifty years.

Decay of the family.

Dr. Mather informs us, that a portion of the lands of the family descended to William, and that he sold

them when he was of full age and was living in Holland. As to the moral and religious state of the village in which he was born, it was probably neither much better nor much worse than the other agricultural villages of England at that time were; and no one now can either confirm or refute the very unfavourable representation which Dr. Mather gives of it. He describes Austerfield, or Ansterfield as he calls it, as a very ignorant profane place, not a Bible to be seen there, and with a minister at the chapel who was inattentive and careless. Yet the will, of which we had an abstract, is not without traces both of piety and charity; and we must do so much justice to Henry Fletcher, who is the minister alluded to, as to say, that he appears to have been constantly resident on this poorly-endowed benefice from 1591, when he married Elizabeth Elvick, to 1624, when by his last will he directs that he shall be buried in the churchyard or chapel of Austerfield, near his wife and children. An Alice Bradford, who, if she were not the Alice who married Briggs, would be the Governor's mother, was a sponsor at the baptism of his eldest child Nathaniel, May 1st, 1595, with Mr. John Deacon and Mr. William Gregory.

Alleged moral and religious state of Austerfield.

Henry Fletcher the curate.

We may, however, conclude from what is said by Dr. Mather, that Bradford owed little to him of that deeply contemplative and religious turn of mind which was remarked in him as early as his twelfth year. He was brought up as the sons of yeomanry in those days were when not sent into the towns, attending to the husbandry operations of the family. But the report of Clifton's awakening ministry reached Austerfield. Young as he was, the voice came home to his heart. Babworth cannot be less than six or seven miles from Austerfield, yet he was a frequent attendant on Clifton's ministry. In going from Austerfield to Babworth he would pass through Scrooby, where we see Downes, a friend of the family, resided, and where he would meet with several persons, Brewster among the number, who walked across the meadows to Babworth, and who returned, their hearts burning within them, and strengthening one another in the persuasion that such were the ministers by whom Christianity put forth its genuine influences. And when Clifton's voice was silenced by authority he would be amongst those who reclaimed against the unwise and oppressive act; and when Clifton gave up for ever his pleasant benefice, and

Bradford attends Clifton's ministry.

separated himself from the Church to which perhaps he was in heart strongly attached—his affections drawing him one way and his judgment another—Bradford, young as he was, would be likely to see that no other way had remained for him, and that it was his own duty and his highest interest to render him all the encouragement and support in his little power, and to abandon the church which one of its best ministers had been driven out from. Opposing himself to the wishes of his family, and daring the derision which would be showered upon him by the clowns of Austerfield, he declared himself a Separatist, joined the Scrooby Church, and became a very active and useful person in the difficult operations which they were soon called on to perform. This seems to have been the part he took when he was from fifteen to eighteen years of age.

Formally professes himself a Separatist.

To complete the early portion of the personal history of this remarkable man, which is the only part of it which belongs to me, it may be added that it has been discovered by the American inquirers into the history of the early settlers that he married one Dorothy May. She accompanied him to

His marriages.

America, one of the memorable hundred who were in the May-Flower.[53] She reached the American coast; but, while the ship was in the harbour at New Plymouth, she fell overboard[54] and was drowned. May is no Basset-Lawe name, so that we are not warranted in claiming her for another member of the Scrooby Church; and she was probably a daughter of a Mrs. May, a member of Johnson's Separatist Church at Amsterdam, who is spoken of not very respectfully by Ephraim Pagitt in his *Heresiography*, p. 162. Two years after her death, Bradford married Mrs. Alice Southworth, a widow, to whom, according to tradition, he had been attached before he went to America.

[53] Often said to be One Hundred and One. Dr. N. B. Shurtleff has prepared a very critical catalogue of them, in which it appears that One Hundred embarked, and One Hundred arrived at Cape Cod: but that there was a child born on the passage named Oceanus Hopkins: but this addition to the number of passengers was balanced by the death of William Butten, servant to Mr. Samuel Fuller. A child who was named Peregrine White was born at the Cape in November, on board the ship. So that One Hundred and One may still be said to be the number of those who landed. It is a melancholy fact, and one which shows that the emigration was really no trifling sacrifice which these people made, that in less than a year, fifty-one persons who had come over were dead!

[54] In the former edition I have said that a boat upset in which she was: but I have been set right by a valued New England correspondent.

She had married in the interval, and had become a widow. Bradford renewed his proposals by letter. She accepted them, and sailed for New Plymouth in the second year of the existence of the colony. Two sons of hers, Constant Southworth and Thomas Southworth, also came out, who were brought up by Governor Bradford, and became important persons in the colony.

The Southworths.

The Southworths were eminently a Basset-Lawe family. We learn from Thoroton that, in 1612, there was a Thomas Southworth, who had lands at Clarborough, and a William Southworth, a freeholder at Heyton. We find also, in the Visitation of Nottinghamshire, in 1614, that an Edward Southworth was then living, but so little did he care for such things, that all the account of his family which he gave to the Heralds was, that he was the son of Robert Southworth, the son of Richard, the son of Aymond, who lived at Wellam in the reign of King Henry the Eighth. From another source we know that one of the family, a Mr. Robert Southworth, consorted with the extreme Puritans, who were going the way of separation. It is the letter of Smith to Bernard of Worksop, in which this passage

occurs: alluding to the speech of Naaman, Smith says, "By this place Mr. Bernard intended to sin against his conscience, for he did acknowledge this truth we now profess divers times, and was upon the point of separation with some of his people with him; yet, loving the world and preferment as Naaman is thought to do, he chose rather to stay still in his vicarage against his conscience than to lose it, and to follow Christ with a good conscience. Do you not remember, Mr. Bernard, *what you said to me and Mr. Robert Southworth, coming together from W.* [Worksop ?], that, speaking of the danger of walking in this truth of Christ we now profess, you said you could easily die upon the tree for the truth, but you could not without great horror think of being burned as the martyrs were in Queen Mary's days; and that all the journey you were casting how to dispatch your estate and to get away with safety."

With this passage before us, and the fact that some of the name became early settled in the new country, we cannot err if we claim some of them as lay members of the Scrooby Church, perhaps this very Mr. Robert Southworth himself. The time of the conversation alluded to would be about 1604.

The Hon. John Davis, who in 1826 published an edition of Morton's *New England's Memorial*, with many illustrative notes, states that he had been informed by a certain Mrs. White, an old lady whose mind was richly stored with anecdotes of the "First Comers," that Mrs. Alice Southworth's original name was Rayner, and that she was sister to John Rayner who was for some time settled as a minister in England, but becoming a Puritan and Separatist, he joined the colony in New Plymouth, and was their pastor from 1636 to 1654, while both Bradford and Brewster were living. This received some slight countenance from the fact that in 1644, there was a Puritan lady, Mrs. Constance Rayner, living in the parish of St. Botolf without Aldgate, London, *Constant* being, as may be remembered, the name of one of the sons of Mrs. Alice Southworth. It also derived a slight degree of probability from the fact that there were Rayners living in Basset-Lawe in good position. But I have been favoured by Mr. H. G. Somerby to whom the people of New England are so much indebted for his genealogical researches in the old country, with a copy of the will of John Rayner, which, though it cannot be said

Mrs. Southworth supposed by some to have been a Rayner—

to disprove the alliance, affords no presumption in favour of it, and it entirely disproves the connection with the Rayners of East Drayton, and places him in the midst of a wide-spread family of the name, persons of ancient descent, possessing lands in the parishes of Batley and Birstal in the clothing district of Yorkshire. John Rayner the pastor of the New Plymouth people, their first pastor, unless we count Brewster as one, bequeaths to his widow and sons lands at Gildersome in the parish of Batley. But Dr. Young has produced evidence which is almost conclusive, that Mrs. Alice bore another name before her marriage, in the following entry in the records of the Plymouth church: "1667: Mary Carpenter, sister of Mrs. Alice Bradford, the wife of Governor Bradford, a member of the church at Duxbury, died in Plymouth, March 19-20, being newly entered into the 91st year of her age. She was a godly old maid, never married." We do not trace families of this surname in Basset-Lawe. She might be a half sister.

—or Carpenter.

But there is a still more difficult and curious genealogical question connected with the Bradfords. The American writers on this subject allege that a sister of the Governor

Supposed marriage of a George Morton and a Bradford, and Nathaniel

Morton a son of that marriage.

named Sarah married George Morton, and was mother of Nathaniel Morton the author of *New England's Memorial*, first printed in 1669; and they are supported by the strong fact that Nathaniel Morton does in that work call Governor Bradford his uncle. On the other hand, we have no trace in the register of Austerfield, which was well kept, of any sister of the Governor named Sarah, nor is the marriage of a Morton to any of the Bradfords to be found in that register. Nor is this the only difficulty which presents itself when we compare the histories and traditions of America with the evidence of record in our own country. This George Morton is said to have been an inhabitant of the same village with Bradford, and to have come to New Plymouth with his family of four children in July, 1623, and that there, in less than a year, he died.[55] Now certain it is, that there were many Mortons, people however of small consideration, living at Austerfield in the time of the Bradfords, and certain also it is, that there was among them a George Morton baptised February 12th, 1597-8, one of many children

[55] *New England's Memorial*, Judge Davis's Edition, prefatory matter.

of a Thomas Morton. This is the only George Morton; but as we find a number of children of a George Morton baptised at Austerfield between 1624 and 1631, it would seem that, according to the testimony of the register, this must be the George, son of Thomas, who could not therefore have emigrated in 1623.

I fear it is in vain to hope to identify the George Morton, father of Nathaniel, by means of English evidence. My well-informed friend and correspondent, Mr. Savage, tells me that he has discovered that the wife of this George Morton was not named Sarah but Juliana, and that she married after his death one Manassed Kempton. This is unfavourable to the tradition or history which connects him with Austerfield, for the people of that homely village showed no taste or refinement in the selection of the names given to their children; and yet when we read the words in which Governor Bradford records his death, "a gracious servant of God, an unfeigned lover and promoter of the common good and growth of this plantation, and faithful in whatever public employment he was entrusted with," it is impossible not to wish that we could support by our own evidences the

traditions of New England, and could show that he as well as Brewster and Bradford sprung from the country around Bawtry—the cradle of the Anglo-Americans. He also, whoever he may have been, occupies a conspicuous place in the early history of this emigration, as the English correspondent of the first settlers, the person to whom Bradford and Winslowe transmitted their 'Relation of the proceedings during the first year of the Settlement,' and who superintended the publication of it at London in 1622; if we admit, as in all likelihood we may do,[56] that Dr. Young is right in his conjecture that the "G. Mourt," which is the name subscribed to the preface is really intended for this George Morton, the father of Nathaniel. It is manifest also that the writer of that preface contemplated emigration, or, as he expresses it, "to put his shoulder to this hopeful business," as we know that the father of Nathaniel Morton did ere another year was past.

While we are pursuing these inquiries with what may be called by some a trifling minuteness, I cannot

[56] I venture to introduce this qualification, remembering that we have names of two Puritan families in England which approach nearer in orthography to "Mourt" than Morton does—Mort in Lancashire, and Moult in Derbyshire.

forbear to add that we have another Morton bearing the name of George living at this time, not indeed at Austerfield, but at Bawtry. There is a mystery hanging over this person's history. He was the eldest son and heir apparent of Anthony Morton, who was one of the witnesses in the Hospital suit, and died long before his father, having married Catherine Boun, half-sister of Gilbert Boun, serjeant-at-law, whose daughter, Thoroton, the historiographer of Nottinghamshire, married. Thoroton must have known everything about these Mortons, who were one of the most ancient of the Nottinghamshire families, and they are even to be classed among the families whom Sir Egerton Brydges so happily styles the historical families of England, on account of the important part which they took in all the Catholic movements against Queen Elizabeth, and especially the insurrection of the northern earls in 1569. Yet he gives no full and precise information respecting the later generations, which we might have expected from him, when the family was declining in importance, and about soon to be removed from their hereditary seat. Nor are the deficiencies supplied by the Visitation of Yorkshire in

George Morton of the Bawtry family.

1612, or that of Nottinghamshire in 1614, and the family is wholly absent from Dugdale's great Visitation of Yorkshire in 1665 and 1666. We are thus left without any certain information concerning the fate of George, and the ruin of the family is attributed to his father Anthony and his brother Robert, who married one of the Lindleys, of whom we have spoken, and who is the person who sold their ancient estate to Mr. William Saunderson. Is it possible that this George Morton can have so far departed from the spirit and principles of his family, as to have fallen into the ranks of the Protestant Puritans and Separatists, to have disguised himself in London under the name of Mourt, and then to have concealed himself in the American wilds. The conjecture is, perhaps, too bold and too improbable. But it is easier to say so, than to inform us what became of this prominent member of a very eminent family.[57]

[57] It is remarkable how little assistance the inquirer into the minutiæ of Nottinghamshire history can derive from the labours of any former antiquary. Thoroton's History is very meagre, and it is not known that any manuscript remains of his exist. Lincolnshire in this respect is not much better off, but it has better Visitations.

Mary, the wife of Anthony Morton, of the parish of Harworth, Esquire, "an obstinate papist, neither fearing God, nor the smart

And while upon the Mortons in the connection of the name with the affairs of the first colonists, it may be added that there was a Thomas Morton, who joined the colony in 1625, and was a very unworthy member of it. Bradford says that "he had been a kind of pettifogger at Furnival's Inn," but in the title of his *New English Canaan*, a disparaging account of the colony, which he printed at Amsterdam in 1637, when he had been sent back to Europe for selling powder and fire-arms to the natives, he describes himself of Clifford's Inn. There are doggrel verses written in 1624 relating to Ferdinando Cary by a "Captain Thomas Morton from Breda;" probably the same person, which different pens have thought it worth while to transcribe, as copies are to be found in the Ashmole, the Harley, and the Sloane Collections of Manuscripts.

Thomas Morton.

of Her Majesty's good and necessary laws in that behalf provided, having for many years refused to go to the church to hear Divine service and sermons, and to conform herself to the godly religion now publicly received within the realm of England," was attached by the Pursuivant of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to appear to answer before them at the cathedral church at York, and gave bond accordingly in £100; and not appearing at the time, the bond was enforced against her and her two sureties. She would not fare the better for her connection with Nicholas Morton, the principal person in stirring up the Rebellion of 1569.

To these names, as lay-members of the Separatist body in Basset-Lawe, may be added that of Francis Jessop, a younger son of a family of good reputation and fortune, who possessed lands at Heyton and Tilne, in the neighbourhood of Scrooby and Babworth, before they acquired larger possessions in Yorkshire and Derbyshire by marriage with one of the co-heirs of Swyft, from which family Lord Carlingford descended. They were indeed a wealthy and considerable family, being at last ennobled with the title of Baron Darcy of Navan, an Irish honour. They were also a literary and religious family, not going the length of separation, except in this Francis, but professing themselves Puritans, and being great encouragers of the Puritan ministry.[58]

Francis Jessop.

[58] There is a very remarkable will of Wortley Jessop, who resided at Scofton, in the parish of Worksop, a nephew of Francis. It is dated April 13th, 1615, seven years after the Basset-Lawe exodus. He gives a small legacy to Toller, and directs that £4. a year shall continue to be paid to William Carte, who had succeeded (with a short interval), to Bernard as vicar of Worksop, as long as he shall remain there. Carte was a Puritan, and had afterwards the living of Hansworth. The light in which the Puritans of Basset-Lawe regarded their Catholic neighbours appears in the provision which Jessop makes for an infant daughter:—"If it please the Lord of Heaven to move my brother George to remove his habitation from amongst that idolatrous people amongst whom he now liveth, which

The Francis Jessop, who is to be claimed as one of the Puritans of Basset-Lawe, and who appears afterwards as an active member of Robinson's church in Holland, was the third son of Richard Jessop and Anne Swyft, and was left very young by his father, who died in 1580. The Basset-Lawe property was left to him and another brother, named Richard, while the eldest son took the lands which had been inherited from the Swyfts. The father directs in his will that the children shall be brought up in learning; and it may be added as illustrating the domestic antiquities of the English nation, that he directs the surplus of the rents of the lands given them to be placed in a box with three locks, to be kept for their use. We have seen that Richard was the friend of Clifton and Toller, and the confidence which he placed in them, and we have now to add that Francis Jessop sold his lands at Tilne, and there can hardly be a doubt that he is the Francis Jessop who appears at Amsterdam fighting by the side of Clifton in his sharp controversy with Smith on the baptismal ques-

I will not cease to pray for," then the daughter is to live with him: if not, he desires she may be placed where she shall hear the word of God faithfully taught.

tion. His tract is entitled *A Discovery of the Errors of the English Anabaptists:* and there is further the strong presumption that he is the Francis Jessop, a prominent member of Robinson's church at Leyden, whose name stands first in a joint letter from the Leyden people to their brethren at New Plymouth announcing the death of Robinson. This was in 1625. The other names are Thomas Nash, Thomas Blossom, Roger White, and Richard Maisterson. Three vessels at different periods had conveyed members of the Leyden congregation and their families to New Plymouth. These persons as well as their pastor Robinson had not taken that step. They were ever intending to go, but were hindered. They stood "on tip-toe," but there is no reason to believe that Jessop, who was then sixty years of age, ever took that step, but rather that he returned to England and died here.

Jackson and Rochester both of Scrooby, Separatists.

We have direct and positive evidence on which to show two other persons who were members of the Separatist Church before it left England. These were, RICHARD JACKSON and ROBERT ROCHESTER. They were both inhabitants of Scrooby, and both included with

Brewster in the penalties imposed by the Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical in 1608. I have not seen any other notice of them.

The proceedings which the Separatists took, contrary to law.

The proceedings of the Separatists were in pointed opposition to the law as it then stood, and can only be justified on the ground that in affairs so sacred and important as those of religion, there is a law which is above all human institutions, to which every man is bound to be obedient, when its requirements are made manifest to his own understanding. A principle full of danger, for who is equal to discern for himself that pure and perfect way! Yet the wrong, if wrong there was, was not so great as that done by the legislature, which, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth passed the act, "for the punishment of persons obstinately refusing to come to church." Conformity to what is the national will in affairs such as these, is indeed desirable; but this was purchasing conformity at far too dear a rate; and so the nation in a wiser age was brought to think, and the toleration under which Separatists now live, became part of the law of the land.

Of course while such a law existed, conduct like that of Brewster and his friends could not long be

permitted; and could not long be connived at, for doubtless amongst that generous body of men, who administered the law in the provinces, there were many who, though they took no part in such proceedings, and did not approve of them, were unwilling to oppress under such a statute some of their neighbours whose only fault may have been, that they had an overstrained or ill-informed conscientiousness, while they discharged well their other duties under a deep sense of their responsibility. Bradford speaks in general terms of the people being harassed, as well as of the ministers, who stirred them up, being silenced; but he gives us no particular instances, not even showing us what happened to Brewster himself. Nor have I been able to discover more than one particular instance of the law being brought to bear on any of these Basset-Lawe nonconformists, besides the silencing of some of the Ministers. Toby Matthew, Archbishop of York, in the return which he made to the Exchequer, on the 13th of November, 1608, of the fines which had been imposed within his diocese in the preceding year, for the purpose of the fines being levied, inserted the following:—

Animadverted upon.

Proceeding of the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical causes.

"Richard Jackson, William Brewster, and Robert Rochester, of Scrooby, in the county of Nottingham, Brownists or Separatists, for a fine or amercement of £20. a piece set and imposed upon every of them by Robert Abbot and Robert Snowden, Doctors of Divinity, and Matthew Dodsworth,[59] Bachelor of Law, Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical within the province of York, for not appearing before them upon lawful summons at the Collegiate Church of Southwell, the 22d day of April, anno Domini 1608—£60."

Before this return was made to the Exchequer, the Basset-Lawe Separatists had formed the resolution to seek in another country that protection and toleration which were denied to them at home; and they saw at no great distance another country where was a public toleration of all forms of Protestantism. This was Holland; and the track had been trod for them by several persons of like sentiments with themselves; first, people from

The Scrooby Church decides upon emigration.

[59] These Commissioners were persons of note at the time. Dr. Robert Abbot became Bishop of Salisbury; Dr. Robert Snowden, a Nottinghamshire man and a Prebendary in the church of Southwell, was afterwards Bishop of Carlisle; Dodsworth was the father of Roger Dodsworth, the great charter antiquary, and principal collector of the materials for the Monasticon.

London and the neighbourhood, and next their own neighbours and friends, the members of Smith's Gainsborough Church. We have no means of judging of the precise number of persons who formed this determination, but there were probably several hundreds of them, their leaders being Robinson, Clifton, Brewster, and I will add Bradford, youth though he was. In a country so thinly peopled, and where striking events were of but rare occurrence, the sudden removal of such a number of persons would be a remarkable occurrence, and would necessarily draw upon them much of public attention. Bradford speaks of the excitement which was occasioned by it, and the surprise which was expressed at the sight of so many persons of all ranks and conditions parting with their possessions, and going in a body to another country of whose very language they were ignorant. Some carried with them portions of their household goods, and some, it is said, looms which they had used at home.

Mean to go secretly, but hindered at Boston.

Yet there was nothing of ostentation in their proceedings. On the contrary, the expatriation was sought to be silently effected. They were to go in two parties, one from

Boston, the other by the Humber. Brewster and Bradford were of the Boston party, and they made a secret bargain with the captain of a Dutch vessel to receive them on board at that port as privately as might be. And now began a fresh difficulty. The captain acted perfidiously. He gave secret information to the magistrates of Boston, and when they were embarked and just upon the point of sailing as they supposed, officers of the port came on board who removed them from the vessel and carried them to a prison in the town, not without circumstances of contumely. On what pretence, or for what reason and purpose, this was done, or under what authority, we are at present ignorant; but the Crown did in those days assume the right of preventing persons from going abroad, and it is even said that Cromwell was prevented thus from leaving England in the time of King Charles the First. When they were taken out of the vessel, the authorities at Boston seem to have disposed of them at their pleasure. Some were sent back to their homes; others, among whom was Brewster, were kept for many months in confinement at Boston. Again and again must we lament the want of particularity in Bradford's narratives, from

which our only information of the proceedings at Boston is derived.

Unfortunate attempt to pass by the Humber.

The party which was to go by the Humber were scarcely less unfortunate. They had agreed with the master of another Dutch vessel then lying in the port of Hull, to take them on board at an unfrequented place on the northern coast of Lincolnshire. This man deceived them; for having taken about half of them on board, on some real or pretended alarm, he sailed away, leaving the rest, who were chiefly women and children, on the shore in the deepest affliction. Let it be added for the honour of England that the colonists cannot lay the evil conduct of these two mariners at our door.

It was something to bear up against these discouragements, and we cannot wonder that some who had intended to go were disheartened, and remained in England. But the greater part persevered in their design. We learn from the memoranda of the Cliftons that Richard Clifton, the minister with the long white beard, arrived at Amsterdam in August, 1608, and before the end of that year it would seem that the whole body of them were assembled at Amsterdam.

Meet at last at Amsterdam.

And here my labours come to their natural conclusion; but a brief notice of what afterwards occurred will not be wholly misplaced. They found at Amsterdam Francis Johnson and Henry Ainsworth, two eminent Separatist ministers, with a congregation of English people, and Smith, also a minister, full of the spirit of novelty and opposition. The Separatists at Amsterdam were torn to pieces by contention. This was not agreeable to the newcomers, who, after the trial of a year, removed themselves to Leyden, where they could conduct their own affairs in their own way, and without contention.

State of the English exiles there.

Remove to Leyden.

They remained at Leyden from 1609 to 1620, having Robinson for their pastor. But there were many circumstances enumerated by Bradford in the Dialogue, which led many of them to wish to place themselves under the government of their native country, reserving only the right of free thought and action in religious affairs. Still they knew not where to go. Some thought of Guiana, a land of great promise, others of Virginia, where attempts were being made to form a colony. Sir Edwin Sandys, one of the sons of the Archbishop,

Determine to leave Leyden and settle under the English government.

and younger brother of Sir Samuel Sandys, to whom Scrooby had been passed, was the treasurer and afterwards Governor of the Company. The Church entered into correspondence with him, Robinson and Brewster conducting it for them. After some difficulties, which Sir Edwin Sandys was chiefly instrumental in removing, an arrangement was made.[60]

Assisted by Sir Edwin Sandys.

The May-Flower left Southampton on the 5th of August, 1620. It contained only a portion of the Church, among whom were Brewster and Bradford. Other portions embarked in following years in the Fortune and the Anne.

The first party set sail in the May-Flower for North America.

[60] Sir Edwin Sandys, as before observed, would be led to favour the enterprise both by personal acquaintance with Brewster, and, to a great degree, by community of principle, for the Sandys family, like their father the Archbishop, was disposed to admit of an extension of Reformation principles. King James did not cordially like the proceedings of the Virginia company; and, when the device for the Seal was presented to him where on one side was St. George slaying the dragon, with the motto, *Fas alium superare draconem*, meaning the unbelief of the natives, he commanded that the motto should be omitted. This anecdote is preserved by Weever in one of his MS. volumes in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 128. The motto on the other side, *En dat Virginia quintam*, allusive to the four crowns, was in the taste of the times.

While in Holland Bradford was engaged in the manufacture of silk; but Brewster chose a more intellectual employment. "He fell," says Bradford, "into a way, by reason he had the Latin tongue, to teach many students who had a desire to learn the English tongue to teach them English, and by his method they quickly attained it with great facility; for he drew rules to learn it by after the Latin manner, and many gentlemen, both Danes and Germans, resorted to him, as they had time from other studies—some of them being great men's sons. He also had means to set up printing, by the help of some friends, and so had employment enough; and, by reason of many books which would not be allowed to be printed in England, they might have had more than they could do." Dr. Young acquaints us, that one book printed by Brewster is known, a Commentary on the Proverbs, by Cartwright, with a preface by Polyander, the Leyden Professor, 8vo, 1617. Bradford informs us, that Brewster's finances, which had been nearly exhausted, were much recruited by the profits of these labours.

Employment of Bradford and Brewster while in Holland.

From a letter written by Robinson and Brewster to

Sir Edwin Sandys I quote the following passage, which shows the spirit in which they began their perilous enterprise: "We verily believe and trust that the Lord is with us, to whom and whose service we have given ourselves in many trials, and that he will graciously prosper our endeavours according to the simplicity of our hearts. We are well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother-country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land. The people are, for the body of them, industrious and frugal, we think we may safely say, as any company of people in the world. We are knit together as a body in a most strict and sacred bond and covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves strictly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole. And lastly, it is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish ourselves at home again." Who, reading this, must not wish them Good speed?

Noble spirit in which they address themselves to their perilous undertaking.

Let us leave them on their voyage, and return for a moment to the country they had left.

Scrooby continued to be a possession of the family

of Sandys till near the beginning of the eighteenth century, when an heiress carried it away to another family. It was settled by Sir Samuel Sandys on his second son, Martin Sandys, who was born in 1597. Martin left a son, Francis Sandys, who, or a son of that name, was buried at Scrooby on February 14th, 1696. He has no monument, but there is one for Penelope, a daughter of Sir Martin, who died on the 25th of December, 1690.

Scrooby since their departure.

Extinction of the family of Sandys.

Francis Sandys left an only daughter and heir, named Mary, to the guardianship of Sir Willoughby Hickman, of Gainsborough, from whose house she was married in 1707, to John Stapylton, the only son of Sir Bryan Stapylton, of Myton, in Yorkshire. This John Stapylton succeeded his father in the baronetcy, and died during his canvass of the county of York, at the election of 1733. It forms now part of the estate of Robert Pemberton Milnes, of Bawtry, Esq., who was some time member for Pontefract, as his son, Richard Monckton Milnes, now is.

The Archiepiscopal mansion at Scrooby having been first abandoned to tenants, was soon taken down and the materials removed. As long ago as

Scrooby Manor.

1673, Thoroton speaks of it thus: "Here, within memory, stood a very fair palace, a far greater house of receit and a better seat for provision than Southwell. It hath a fair park belonging to it; Archbishop Sandys caused it to be demised to his son, Sir Samuel Sandys, since which the house hath been demolished, almost to the ground. Mr. Francis Sandys is the present tenant." None of the stone-work remains, except what appears to have been a gate-way or out-housing, which is converted into a farm-house. But the site is strongly marked by what was the ancient moat.

After Brewster, Francis Hall was the postmaster at Scrooby, to whom succeeded John Nelson, and after him were William Nelson, and Edward Wright, who held the office at the beginning of the Civil Wars.

Diversion of the Post Road.

I know not exactly the time when the great North Road was diverted so as to leave Scrooby on the left hand, and to pass through Bawtry, to which place the post-office was removed.

Beside the interest which must always attach even to the site of an edifice, with which are connected events of no ordinary kind, there is nothing of interest

The Church and Monuments.

at Scrooby now except the church, and that is not so remarkable as we might

have expected, when we remember that it must have been erected under the observation of some early Archbishop. We may observe, however, in the wood-work remains of one of the favourite symbols of Christianity in the middle ages, a vine bearing clusters of grapes. There are a few monumental memorials of persons who had been officers of the Archbishops, one of whom, Mr. Robert Hill, was "aiaciscanus" to Archbishop Rotherham, a word rarely found in English inscriptions, and equivalent to the farmer or manager of the estate.

There is only one monumental inscription of any person, who can be supposed to have been contemporary with Brewster, and it is in a state of much decay. It is of one of the family of Torre, who lived in these parts before one of them settled at York, the better to pursue those researches by which he rendered such inestimable benefit to the diocese of York.

Marcida THEOPHILI TORI subterraneus ossa
Continet iste *torus:* spiritus astra petit.
Ille deo charus [prout] Γραμματα nominis edunt;
Vivus, erat sponsæ, παῖσιν, ἀπᾶσιν, ἀνήρ.

Obiit 26 Aprilis anno dom. 1620.

In none of the other churches of the neighbourhood, Bawtry, Austerfield, Blythe, Sutton, or Babworth, do

we find monuments of the persons spoken of in this book, or of their contemporaries.

The descendants of the four principal persons.

One word respecting the descendants of Brewster, Bradford, Robinson, and Clifton. The Brewsters and Bradfords took root in New England, where they flourished, and are still flourishing.

Brewster.

Brewster gave to his children names of quite the ultra-puritan mintage, *Patience, Fear, Love, Wrestling,* and *Jonathan:* I say of an ultra-puritan mintage, but there was a meaning and purpose in the adoption of names such as these. The names previously used in England, had been for the most part the names of holy men and women, who had been honoured in the ancient church, and placed by her in the Kalendar. They had therefore a relation to the abrogated system, and they contributed to keep up the memory of it, which the Puritans wished to see die away. They had recourse therefore to Old Testament names, and to such words as fear, love, and patience, which we see Brewster selected out of a pretty copious vocabulary. In one parish in England, that of Halifax, Old Testament names supplanted almost entirely the former personal nomenclature, and

prevail to a very great extent even to our times, when the reason for the use of them is forgotten. They prevail still to a great extent in New England. They were generally inelegant, but our New England brethren seem sometimes as if they sought out from these Hebrew words those which were the least pleasing and almost unpronounceable. In Brewster's choice the names do not distinguish the sex, so that it may be well to say that *Patience* and *Fear* were women, and *Love* and *Wrestling*, men. Patience married Thomas Prince or Prence, and Fear, Isaac Allerton, both men noted in the affairs of the colony. Two of the sons settled at Duxbury, which is near Plymouth. Dr. Young, from whom I take this, says, "there are many descendants of the worthy elder in Plymouth, Duxbury, Kingston, Pembroke, and in Connecticut and elsewhere.[61] There is a larger account of them in the *History of Duxbury* by Mr. Justin Winsor, 8vo, Boston, 1849.[62] In the

[61] P. 470.

[62] P. 234. This work of Mr. Winsor is a remarkable proof of the fondness of the people of New England for genealogical research. Our English books of Topography are sometimes censured for the minuteness of their details and for being overloaded with genealogical matter. But we have no book which can compare in

September of last year, there was a meeting of gentlemen who claim the honourable distinction of descent from Elder Brewster, at Norwich in Connecticut, when it was resolved to adopt some special means to do honour to the memory of their common ancestor, and a Committee was appointed for the purpose.

Governor Bradford had *John*, *William*, *Mercy*, and *Joseph*. Of their descendants, amongst whom are several distinguished names, there is a large account in Mr. Winsor's *History of Duxbury*, pp. 230-4. The Bradford and Brewster families became connected by the marriage of Joseph Brewster, with Susan, daughter of Captain Scott Bradford, soon after the close of the war.

Bradford.

these respects with the History of Duxbury; and future generations will most certainly estimate as they deserve the labour and research of its author.

But a work professedly genealogical (not topographical) is anxiously expected from Mr. Savage, who has promised what he modestly regards as a new edition of Farmer's Genealogical Register, but which after so much labour as he has bestowed upon it will be well entitled to be considered an original and substantive work.

But with respect to the Brewsters, whatever skill and diligence can do will be done by the Rev. Ashbell Steele, to whom the committee have assigned the duty of preparing an ample account of the Life of Brewster, to be printed as one part of the honours about to be paid to his memory.

Though Robinson himself did not put in execution his avowed intention of emigrating, his son probably did so, as he bought land at Isaac Creek, which, however, he soon sold. His name was Isaac. The researches of the American genealogists have not been very successful in tracing his posterity. It is to be feared they never rose to eminence among the population of the new country.[63] *Robinson.*

The Cliftons who had left the Leyden church, and continued at Amsterdam, did not emigrate. We have spoken of the children of the minister already: but the fly-leaves of the Bible in the Taylor Institution, contain information respecting later descendants. The two children of the first marriage of Zachary Clifton died in infancy, as did six of the ten children of his second marriage, so great was mortality of infants in those days as compared with the present happier times. The others were, Zachary, Eleazer, Richard, and Hannah. *Clifton.*

Of these Eleazer died at Rotterdam, 9th June, 1667, aged 31, and was buried in the French church there. Zachary, Richard, and Hannah lived with their father at Newcastle, but Richard and Hannah died

[63] See Mr. Winsor's History of Duxbury, 8vo, 1849, p. 297.

before him, namely, Richard on November 10th, 1664, at the age of 22, and Hannah on the 18th April, 1671, six weeks before her father, at the age of 23. They were both buried at All Hallows Church in the north alley near the Quire door next to the burial place of Dr. Newton, on the north side.

There remains only Zachary of whom a full and good account is given by himself. "Zachary, son of Zach. Clifton, by Elizabeth his wife, was born May 10th (stylo novo) anno 1633. He was promoted out of the Latin school at Amsterdam, April 4th, anno 1649: went to the University of Utrecht, May 5th, anno 1650: from thence to the University of Leyden, August 9, anno 1652. He commenced Master of Arts at Leyden, August 9th, anno 1654, and came thence for England: in June following he arrived at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, (viz.) June 26th, anno 1654. Went to live with Mr. Ralph Delaval, Esquire, at Seaton Delaval, where he performed family duties and taught his sons Latin. He stayed with the said Mr. Delaval from the 16th January, 1654, to May 14th, anno 1657. He went from Newcastle to London August 27th, anno 1658; arrived 2d September following, and preached his first sermon, at St. Helen's

church in London, November 23d, 1658. His text was Rom. i. 16. He was ordained in April, anno 1659, and being lawfully called to be minister of the gospel at Wisborough Green in Sussex, he entered upon the place and went with his wife to live there, June 9th, 1659. He married Mrs. Johanna Hering, youngest daughter of Mr. John Hering, in his life-time pastor of the English church in Amsterdam, February 10th, anno 1658. She died in child-bed the fifth day after she had brought forth her first-born, which was a son and died before the mother, December 12th, anno 1659. They were both buried in the church of the abovesaid Wisborough Green."

Here the information ends. We have a slight continuation of the history of this Zachary Clifton in Calamy's account of the ejected and silenced ministers; where we find amongst those of the county of Sussex "Green: Mr. Zachary Clifton." But neither in the "Account" nor in the "Continuation" is anything more said of him. We see, however, that he remained disaffected to the English church, and that he lost his living by the operation of the Uniformity Act, August, 1662.

It is a reasonable presumption that he died soon

after without children; and if so, with him there would be an end of all the posterity of Richard Clifton, the first pastor or teacher of the Scrooby church.

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

I.

Archbishop Sandys' Final Opinion on the question of the continuance of the Ceremonies in the Church of England, the chief and almost the only ground of exception in the minds of the more moderate of the Puritan Ministers.

The following passage is copied from the Preamble to the Will of the Archbishop, which was made the year before his death, 1588 :—

"Thirdly, because I have lived an old man in the ministry of Christ, a faithful dispenser of the mysteries of God, and, to my power, an earnest labourer in the vineyard of the Lord, I testify before God and his angels, and men of this world, I rest resolute, and yield up my spirit in that doctrine, which I have privately studied, and publicly preached, and which is this day maintained in the Church of England; both taking the same to be the whole counsel of God, the word and bread of eternal life, the fountain of living water, the power of God unto salvation to all them that do believe, and beseeching the Lord besides to turn us unto him that we might be turned, lest if we repent not, the candlestick be moved out of its place, and the gospel to a nation that shall bring forth the fruits thereof. And further protest, in an upright conscience of mine own, and in the knowledge of His Majesty, before whom I stand,

that in the preaching of the truth of Christ, I have not laboured to please men, but studied to serve my Master who sent me; not to flatter either prince or people, but by the law, to tell all sorts of their sins; by the spirit, to rebuke the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment; by the gospel, to testify of that faith which is in Jesus Christ and him crucified.

"Fourthly, concerning rites and ceremonies by political constitutions authorised amongst us. As I am and have been persuaded that such as are set down by public authority in this Church of England, are no way either ungodly or unlawful, but may with good conscience, for order and obedience sake, be used of a good Christian (for the private baptism to be ministered by women, I take neither to be prescribed nor permitted) [query prohibited?], so have I ever been and presently am persuaded, that some of them be not so expedient for the Church now; but in the Church reformed and in all this time of the gospel, wherein the seed of the scripture hath so long been sown, they may better be disused by little and little, than more and more urged. Howbeit [though], I do easily acknowledge our Ecclesiastical Polity, in some points, may be bettered; so I do utterly mislike, even in my conscience, all such rude and indigested platforms, as have been more lately and boldly, than either learnedly or wisely preferred; tending not to the reformation but to the destruction of the Church of England. The particulars of both sorts reserved to the discretion of the godly, which of the latter I only say thus: that the state of a small private church, and the form of a large Christian kingdom, neither would long like, not at all brook, one and the same Ecclesiastical government."

II.

Extract from the EUROPÆ SPECULUM of Sir Edwin Sandys.

The *Europæ Speculum* contains the results of observations made in a tour through most of the States of Europe undertaken by Sir Edwin Sandys for the express purpose of observing the state of religion, and the various forms in which ecclesiastical affairs were regulated, in different Protestant States. It was written about 1600, and addressed to Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury.

It seems not to have been printed till the year 1687, when it came out, having been, as the title-page informs us, *multum diuque desideratum*, with the title *Europæ Speculum, or, a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Western Parts of the World; wherein the Roman Religion, and the pregnant Policies of the Church of Rome to support the same are notably displayed; with some other memorable Discoveries and Commemorations.* By Sir Edwin Sandys, Knight.

The following extract forms one of the Chapters, and is, to a certain extent, a summary conclusion at which he arrived. It shows him much in advance of the times in which he lived, and we cannot but perceive a correspondency in some parts of it with the celebrated Farewell Address of Robinson.

"What Unity Christendom may hope for."

"This then being so, and that all things considered there falls out if not such an indifferency and equality, yet at least-wise such a proportion of strength on both sides, as bereaveth the other of hope ever by war to subdue them (seeing as the proverb is, a dead woman will have four to carry her forth, much less will able men be beaten easily out of their homes) and since there is no appearance of ever forcing an unity, unless time which eats all things, should bring in great alterations; it remaineth to be considered what other kind of unity poor Christendom may hope for, whether Unity of Verity, or Unity of Charity, or Unity of Persuasion, or Unity of Authority, or Unity of Necessity; there being so many other kinds and causes of concord. A kind of men there is whom a man shall meet withal in all countries, not many in number, but sundry of them, of singular learning and piety; whose godly longings to see Christendom re-united in the love of the author of their name above all things, and next in brotherly correspondence and amity as beseemeth those, who, under the chief service of one Lord in profession of one ground and foundation of faith, do expect the same final reward of glory, which proceeding from the Father and Prince of Peace rejecteth all spirits of contention from attaining it, have entered into a meditation whether it were not possible, that by the travail and mediation of some calmer minds, than at this day do usually write or deal on either side, these flames of controversies might be extinguished or aslaked, and some godly or tolerable peace re-established in the Church again. The earnestness of their virtuous desires to see it so, hath bred in them an opinion of possibility that it might be wrought; considering first, that besides infinite

other points not controversed, there is an agreement in the general foundation of religion, in those articles which the Twelve Apostles delivered unto the Church, perhaps not as an abridgment only of the faith, but as a touch-stone also of the faithful for ever; that whilst there was an entire consent in them, no dissent in other opinions only should break peace and communion. And secondly, considering also there are in great multitude on both sides (for so are they undoubtedly) men virtuous and learned fraught with the love of God and of his truth above all things,—men of memorable integrity of heart and affections, whose lives are not dear unto them, much less their labours to be spent for the good of God's church and people; by whose joint endeavours and single and sincere proceedings in common conference for search of truth, that honourable Unity of Verity might be established. But if the multitude of crooked and side respects which are the only clouds that eclipse the truth, from shining now brightly on the face of the world, and the only prickles that so enfroward men's affections as not to consider the best, do cause that this chief Unity find small acceptation, as is to be feared, at least-wise that the endless and ill fruits of these contentions which tend mainly to the increase of Atheism within, of Mahometanism abroad, which inobstinate the Jew, shake the faith of the Christian, taint the better minds with acerbity, and load the worse with poison, which break so out into their actions which themselves think holiest, namely, the defence of God's truth, which each side challengeth, that in thinking they offer up a pleasing sacrifice to God they give cause of wicked joy unto his and their enemy; that these woful effects with very tediousness and weariness may draw both parts *in fine* to some tolerable reconciliation

to some Unity of Charity, at least-wise to some such as may be least to either's prejudice. Let the one give over their worshipping of images, their adoring and offering supplication to Saints, their offensive ceremonies, their arbitrary indulgences, their using of a language not understood in their devotions; all which themselves will confess not to be necessary, to be orders of the church, and such as at pleasure she may dispense with; yea, Pope Clement the Seventh gave some hope to the French king that he would not be stiff in things of this quality, and that respect of time might justify the alteration; and some of the later Popes condescend to them of Bavaria the cup in the sacrament, hoping that would content them, which since they or their successors have again inhibited; on the other side, let the Protestants, such at least-wise as think to purge out that negative and contradictory humour, of thinking they are then rightest when they are unlikest the Papacy; then nearest to God when farthest from Rome; let them look with the eye of Charity upon them as well as of severity, and they shall find in them some excellent orders for government, some singular helps for an increase of godliness and devotion, for the conquering of sin, for the perfecting of virtue, and contrariwise in themselves, looking with a more single and less indulgent eye than they do, they shall find that there is no such absolute or unreprovable perfection in their doctrine and reformation, as some dreamers in the pleasing view of their own actions do fancy. Neither ought they to think it strange they should be amiss in anything, but rather a very miracle if they were not so in money. For if those ancient fathers and sages of the Church with greater helps, being nearer the times of purity, with equal industry, so spending their

whole lives with less cause of unsincerity having nothing to seduce them, notwithstanding, were not able in the weakness and blindness of human nature in this world, to soar up so high always in the search of truth as to find out her right seat in the height of the heavens; but sometimes took error dwelling nearer them, instead thereof; how less likely that our age more entangled with the world, farther removed from the usage of those faultless institutions, and so bitterly exasperated with mutual controversies and conflicts, should attain to that excellency and perfection of knowledge; which it may be God hath removed from man's reach in this world, to humble and increase his longing desire towards another world? And as the present time doth discover sundry errors in the former, so no doubt will the future in that which is now present. So that Ignorance and Error, which seldom go severed, being no other than unseparable companions of man so long as he continueth in this terrestrial pilgrimage; it can be no blemish in them to revise their doctrine, and to abate the rigour of certain speculative opinions, especially touching the eternal decrees of God, the quality of man's nature, the use of his works; wherein some of their chief authors have run to such an utter opposition to the Romish doctrine, as to have exceedingly scandalized all other Churches withal, yea, and many of their own to rest very ill-satisfied. The seat of truth is aloft, of virtue in the midst, both places of honour, but neither truth nor virtue draw to an utter extremity. And as in some points of doctrine so much more in their practice; in order of government and ecclesiastical degrees; in solemnities and stateliness in the service of God; in some exercises of piety, devotion, and humility, especially in set fastings accompanied with due contrition of heart

and prayer; besides, many other ceremonies, they might easily without any offence of conscience at all, frame to draw somewhat nearer to their opposites than now they are, which yielded on both sides a general and indifferent confession and sum of faith; an uniform liturgy, or not repugnant, if diverse; alike, or at least-wise not incorrespondent form of Church-government, to be made out of the points which both agreed in; and to be established so universally in all Christian dominions, that this all Christians should necessarily hold, this only their divines in pulpits should teach, and this their people in churches should exercise; which doing the unity of communion should remain inviolated. For all other questions it should be lawful for each man so to believe as he found cause; not condemning other with such peremptoriness as is the guise of some men of overweening conceits; and the handling of all controversies for their final compounding to be confined to the schools, to councils, and to the learned languages, which are the proper places to try them, and fittest tongues to treat them in."—pp. 215-220.

III.

Extract from Smith's Parallels, Censures, and Observations, 1609.

"The 6th likelihood against separation may be framed thus:—

They have not the truth that are judged of the Lord.
The Separation is judged of the Lord.
Ergo, the Separation hath not the truth.

And again,—

They have the truth that are prospered by God in their course.

The English Protestants are prospered in their course.

Ergo, the English Protestants have the truth.

I answer: that this is false doctrine. For the wise man saith, Eccles. ix. 1—3, "That prosperity or adversity are no signs of love or hatred; and Jerem. xii, 1, 2, that the wicked are in prosperity; and 1 Pet. iv, 17, judgment beginneth at God's house." This your reason, therefore, is most absurd and false, and is fit to breed Atheism and overthrow the whole truth of the Scriptures. But let us see what judgments are upon the Separation: you frame them thus:—

If Mr. Bolton, that apostate, did hang himself; if Mr. Harrison and Mr. Brown did differ, and one fell back; if Mr. Barrow and Mr. Greenwood, for calling you serpents, generation of vipers, were martyred by the persecuting prelates; if Mr. Johnson pronounced excommunication against his brother; and if the church excommunicated the father; if Mr. Burnet died of the plague; if Mr. Smith was delivered twice from the pursuivant; and was sick almost to death and doubted of the Separation for nine months' space—then the Separation is not the truth.

But all these things befel Mr. Bolton, Mr. Brown, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Burnet, Mr. Smith.

Ergo, the Separation is not the truth.

I answer: The churches of England have had thousands of such accidents as these befalling their officers and leaders, and yet as it were folly in us to allege them against you as the papists do; so it is no wisdom but weakness of judgment in you to mention them in your book against us. What, is it good reasoning to say,—

Judas hanged himself; Christ was crucified for blasphemy; Demas embraced the world; Nicholas the deacon proved an heretic; Paul and Barnabas fell out; Paul charged Peter and Barnabas with dissembling; Peter denied Christ; all the Apostles were put to death for heresy. Ergo, the Christian religion, &c., yet this is your goodly reason: if this be a good argument, where is your faith?

But in this likelihood you have a fling at me in particular: Mr. Bernard charging me with divers untruths, which I will manifest.

1. That I doubted nine months I acknowledge; but that I ever did acknowledge the separation the truth and separated from the English assemblies, and then returned again unto them, which you say, I do utterly deny, and I appeal to the town of Gainsborough and those there that knew my footsteps in this matter; and therefore herein I indict you as a public slanderer.

2. Whereas you say I became satisfied at Coventry after conference had with certain ministers, and hereupon kneeled down and praised God. I answer: I did not confer with them about the separation, as you and they know well enough in your consciences; but about withdrawing from true churches, ministers, and worship, corrupted: wherein I received no satisfaction, but rather thought I had given instruction to them; and for kneeling down to praise God, I confess I did, being requested to perform the duty at night after the conference by the ministers; but that I praised God for resolution of my doubts, I deny to death, and you, therein, are also a slanderer. I praised God for the quiet and peaceable conference and such like matters, and desired pardon of the Lord for ignorance and errors and weakness of judgment and any disordered carriage.

If the ministers that heard my prayers and praises of God did misconstrue my meaning, let them look unto it.

3. Whereas you impute an absurdity to me as yet unanswered, namely, that I should affirm the spit whereon the passover was roasted was the altar: I say, seeing the passover was a sacrifice, Mark xiv, 12, and that every sacrifice hath an altar, either the spit was the altar, or else it had no altar. Now, tell me which is the likeliest of the two? And if this be a reasonable speech, that the wooden cross was the altar whereon Christ was crucified, why may not, by as good reason, the spit be the altar of the passover? The sacrifice was not slain upon the altar, but it was burnt upon the altar; for that was not the altar whereupon the passover was killed, but whereupon it was burnt or roasted. Mr. Bernard, I do confidently affirm against you, that the spit was as much the altar to the passover as the cross was an altar to Christ; and let me hear what you in your best logic can say against it."—pp. 128, 129.

IV.

LETTER from Amsterdam from HUGH BROMHEAD to WILLIAM HAMERTON, of London; written about 1606. From the original in the British Museum, Harl. MS. 360, fol. 70. It is slightly imperfect.

"Grace with all increase of grace, peace even from the Father and God of peace, with all true comfort and consolation in Jesus Christ, be with you, beloved cousin, and all yours, and that for ever.

Beloved cousin, we received a letter from you, dated the 13th of July, wherein you write that you expect an answer from us of the said letter. The first part of your letter is, that leaving our country we removed to Amsterdam, which removing was, you hope, but to make trial of the country. Cousin, we give you to understand, that though *natura hominis est novitatis avida*, and the people of the world *spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsi*, yet God's children, in whom not sinful nature but God's divine grace ruleth and beareth sway, make more account of those precious hours of time than to bestow them so vainly and unprofitably as the world doth, but redeeming the time because the days be evil, they put them to better use, which before were mis-spent and put to evil uses, even to all sin and wickedness, even to the dishonouring of God and profanation of His name and religion, and also to the wasting and destroying of that portion of worldly goods which their heavenly Father in wisdom and mercy hath allotted them, by straying and straggling from place to place to hear and see news and novelties, as the Athenians gave themselves usually to do. But God's children, I say, put them to better use, even to seek God's kingdom and the righteousness thereof, assuring themselves that, so doing, all other things shall be cast unto them, and to seek to know God, and Him whom He hath sent, Jesus Christ, whom to know is life everlasting.

A second part of your letter is, that you would persuade us to return home into England, which you make no question would be much pleasing to God, but we make great question thereof; yet we hold it without all question the same should be much and highly displeasing . . . . . unto our good God and Father, that hath in his merciful pro-

vidence brought us out of Babylon, the mother of all abominations, the habitation of devils, and the hold of all foul spirits, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird, and therewithal hath given us a charge to separate ourselves and to touch no unclean thing, promising us that, so doing, He will receive us and will be a father unto us, and we shall be his sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty. You further add in your said letter that our return will be comfort to friends; but those be worldly and carnal, not true and godly friends which love us in the truth and for the truth's sake, as all God's children do and ought to do. The other love our bodies but not our souls, but the end will prove that they love neither our bodies nor our souls.

A third part of your letter is, that you ascertain yourself (but yet we must tell you without all warrant and ground from the word of the Lord) that conceited fancies and opinions and sundry errors, together with self-willed minds, have led us into these bye-paths, not remembering St. Paul's words, which you might set down, but we the whole verse, that neither you nor we should be mistaken, Philippians iv, 8.—"Furthermore, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things pertain to love, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue or if there be any praise, think of these things." These virtues and good things we persuade ourselves we not only think upon and remember them, but to the uttermost of that power and grace that God in mercy hath given us, we labour to put in practice night and day. In thus hardly censuring us, beloved cousin, and entering into judgment upon our consciences, you are to call to

mind the word of the Apostle, which saith, "Speak not evil one of another, brethren: he that speaketh evil of his brother, or he that condemneth his brother, speaketh evil of the law and condemneth the law: if thou condemnest the law, thou art not an observer of the law but a judge. There is one Lawgiver which is able to save and to destroy: who art thou that judgest and condemnest another man's servant? he standeth . . . . . ."

Those points of religion, beloved cousin, which you call fancies, opinions, and errors, we hold them as most certain and undoubted truths of God, warranted unto our consciences by and from the word of the everlasting Lord, and say with the apostle, that we are not as many that make merchandise of the word of God, but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God, speak we in Christ Jesus, for we all behold, as in a mirror, the glory of the Lord with open face and are changed into the same image from glory to glory, as by the Spirit of the Lord, and as the said apostle then further addeth, "if our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds,"—that is, of the infidels,—"that the light of the glorious gospel of Christ who is the image of God, should not shine unto them." To . . . . . our cousin Nicholas his speech quoted by you in your letter (if the same were his speech, whereof I make some question), for when we were in the country with him, he was as forward and zealous in these truths of the Lord as we were, which we then and now do hold and are not ashamed to confess and profess the same before men and angels, and to hold them forth unto the whole world, for as our Lord and Master, Christ, saith, "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my word amongst this adulterous and sinful generation, of him

shall the Son of man be ashamed when he cometh in His glory, and in the glory of His Father, and of the holy angels; and whosoever confesseth me before men, him shall the Son of man confess before the angels of God, but he that shall deny me before men, shall be denied before the angels of God." If there should be such a metamorphosis in our cousin Nicholas, we can but be sorry and lament his fall, wishing him to remember and make good use of the words of the apostle Paul unto the Galatians, and also the words of the apostle Peter, in his 2nd epistle, iv chap., 20th, 21st, and 22d verses;—yet we hope better things of him, and such as accompany salvation.

Concerning the fourth part of your letter, wherein you seem to desire to know wherein your church might be reformed, although I know not herein where to begin or where to end, the corruptions thereof be so many and so infinite, yet in some measure to satisfy your requests, I will give you a view and taste of them, but, before, I will give you a brief view of the causes of our separation and of our purposes in practice.

First, we seek above all things the peace and protection of the Most High, and the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Secondly,we seek and fully purpose to worship God aright, according as He hath commanded in His most holy word.

Thirdly, we seek the fellowship of His faithful and obedient servants, and together with them to enter covenant with the Lord, and by the direction of His Holy Spirit to proceed to a godly, free, and right choice of minister and other officers, by Him ordained to the service of His church.

Fourthly, we seek to establish and obey the ordinances and laws of our Saviour, Christ, left by his last will and testament to the governing and guiding of His church,

without altering, changing, innovating, wresting, or leaving out any of them that the Lord shall give us sight of.

Fifthly, we purpose by the assistance of the Holy Ghost, in this faith and order to lead our lives, and for this faith and order to leave our lives, if such be the good-will of our heavenly Father.

And sixthly, now that our forsaking and utterly abandoning these disordered assemblies as they generally stand in England may not seem strange or offensive to any that will judge or be judged by the word of God, we allege and affirm them heinously guilty in these four principal transgressions: — 1. They worship the true God after a false manner, their worship being made of the invention of man, even of the man of sin, erroneous, and imposed upon them. 2. For that the profane ungodly multitude without exception of any one person are with them received into, and retained in the bosom of, the church. 3. For that they have a false and antichristian ministry imposed upon them, retained with them, and maintained by them. 4. For that these churches are ruled by, and remain in subjection unto, an antichristian and ungodly government, clean contrary to the institution of our Saviour, Christ.

For the better confirmation of these four, we have thought good to add certain arguments.

1. No Apocrypha must be brought into the public assemblies, for there only God's word, and the lively voice of His own grace, must be heard in the public assemblies: but men's writings and the reading them over for prayers, are apocrypha, therefore may not be brought into the public assemblies.

2. Argument. We must do nothing in the worship of God without warrant of His word: but read prayers have

no warrant of His word: therefore read are not to be used in the worship of God.

3. Argument. We may not in the worship of God receive any tradition which bringeth our liberty into bondage. Read prayer upon commandment brought into the public assemblies is a tradition that bringeth our liberty into bondage. Therefore read prayers, &c.

4. Argument. Because true prayer must be of faith, uttered with hearty and lively voice, it is presumptuous ignorance to bring a book to speak for us unto God, &c.

5. Argument. To worship the true God after another manner than He hath taught, is idolatry: but God commandeth us to come unto Him heavy laden with contrite hearts, to cry unto Him for our wants, &c. Therefore we may not stand reading a dead letter instead of pouring forth our petitions.

6. Argument. We must strive in prayer with continuance, &c. But we cannot strive in continuance and be importunate with continuance, reading upon a book. Therefore we must not read when we should pray.

7. Argument. We must pray as necessity requireth: but stinted prayers cannot be as necessity requireth: therefore stinted prayer is unlawful.

8. Argument. Read prayers were devised by antichrist, and maintain superstition and an idle ministry: therefore read prayers and such stinted service are intolerable, &c.

9. Argument. The prayers of such ministers and such people as stand under a false government are not acceptable, not only because they ask amiss, but because they keep not his commandments. The prayers of such ministers and people as be subject to antichrist are abominable. These ministers and people which stand subject to the bishops

and the courts are subject to antichrist, &c. Therefore the prayers, &c.

Touching the last part of your letter, which concerneth the differences of these days, the apostle Paul saith he heareth that there are differences in the church of the Corinthians, and I believe it in part, saith he, to be true, for there must be heresies among them, that they which are approved amongst them may he known, thereby teaching us that it is no new thing that differences in religion are in the church, for the end thereof God often turneth to greater manifestation of His truth, and the furthering of the same as also to the procuring much glory to His own name and to the good of His church and children so tried and approved. We read in the prophecy of the prophet Isaiah these words,—"My beloved had a vineyard in a very fruitful hill, and he hedged it and gathered the stones out of it, and he planted it with the best plants, and he built a tower in the midst thereof, and made a winepress therein; then he looked that it should bring forth grapes, but it brought forth wild grapes;"—and in the same prophecy in another place he called them trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that He might be glorified. Now make use and application of these testimonies. If the vineyard and church of Israel, which was of the Lord's own planting and constitution, brought forth wild grapes, what marvel though your Church of England, which is not of the Lord's planting and constitution, but of antichrist's planting and of the constitution of the man of sin, bring forth wild grapes? You know the words of Christ,—"do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit;—a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt

tree bring forth good fruit;—therefore by their fruit ye shall know them," saith the Lord. As the said prophet Isaiah spake of the people of the Jews, so may we speak of the Church of England,—"from the sole of the foot unto the head there is nothing whole therein, but wounds, and swellings, and sores full of corruption,—the whole head is sick, and the whole heart is heavy."

And we confidently deny that ever the English nation, or any one of our predecessors, were of the faith of Christ, or at any time believed visibly in a true constituted church, but were come of the race of the pagans, till Rome the mother came and put upon us her false baptism, worship, and ministry, and so our case is simply paganish, and the Holy Ghost in the scriptures compareth us to the worst kind of pagans, calling persons apostatising from the true constitution of the Church, Babylonians, Egyptians, Sodomites, &c. teaching us, the Church of England, that he esteemeth no otherwise of the church or baptism, than of the synagogue of Babylon, than of the washing of Egypt, than of the worship of Sodom. Your Church of England, therefore, being of antichrist's constitution, is a false Church, and can there be anything true in a false Church, but only the scriptures and the truths therein contained? but your Church hath a false constitution, a false ministry, a false worship, a false government, and a false baptism, the door and entry into the Church; and so all is false in your Church. Wherefore, beloved cousin, we wish you in the Lord, diligently and seriously to consider and weigh your universal state and standing, that it is most fearful and lamentable, and now at the last to hearken unto the Lord's voice that sounded from heaven, saying, "Go out of Babylon, my people, that ye be not partakers with her in her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues."

Beloved cousin, concerning your request of a book of our present settled government, there is none extant, though there be divers books written by our pastors touching the matters in controversy between the Church of England and us, and touching the differences between us and the other churches here.

The order of the worship and government of our Church is, 1. We begin with a prayer; after, read some one or two chapters of the Bible, give the sense thereof, and confer upon the same: that done, we lay aside our books, and after a solemn prayer made by the first speaker, he propoundeth some text out of the Scripture, and prophesieth out of the same by the space of one hour or three quarters of an hour. After him standeth up a second speaker, and prophesieth out of the said text, the like time and place, sometimes more, sometimes less. After him the third, the fourth, the fifth, &c., as the time will give leave. Then the first speaker concludeth with prayer as he began with prayer, with an exhortation to contribution to the poor, which collection being made, is also concluded with prayer. This morning exercise begins at eight of the clock and continueth unto twelve of the clock. The like course and exercise is observed in the afternoon from two of the clock unto five or six of the clock. Last of all, the execution of the government of the Church is handled.

Loving cousin, I have by this bearer sent unto you a book of the making of Mr. Smith, our pastor: I wish you diligently to peruse, and seriously with judgment to examine the same, and if you request any more of this or any other argument written by him, either for yourself or for your friends, to signify the same unto us by your letters and we will (the Lord willing) procure the same so that you find a

faithful messenger to whom we may safely commit the carriage thereof, for we have heretofore sent divers books into England, and they have perished through the . . . . . of the carrier, and came not into the hands of the parties unto whom they were sent.

Yours in the Lord, at all times to use,
Hugh and Anne Bromhead.

To their loving cousin
William Hamerton, at
London, this be delivered."

V.

Extract from a CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY of NEW ENGLAND: by Thomas. Prince, M.A., 12mo. Boston, 1736.

We have here an excellent account of the distinction of the two Separatist Churches, both originating in the joining borders of Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire, Smith's at Amsterdam, and Robinson's at Leyden: the latter only being entitled to the distinction of being the founders of the New England community.

"Some noted writers not with a sufficient accuracy studied in the Religious History of those times have through great mistake represented as if this people were a congregation of Brownists. But even Baylie himself, that bitter inveigher, both against the Brownists and Independents, owns 'that Mr. Robinson, their pastor, was a man

of excellent parts, and the most learned, polished, and modest spirit as ever separated from the Church of England; that the apologies he wrote were very handsome: that by Dr. Ames and Mr. Parker he was brought to a greater moderation than he at first expressed; that he ruined the rigid separation allowing the lawfulness of communicating with the Church of England in the word and prayer, though not in the sacraments and discipline; that he was a principal overthrower of the Brownists, and became the Author of Independency.' The like account of Mr. Robinson, Hornius also gives us. And how inconsistent is it then to call him or his people Brownists when he was known to be a principal overthrower of them.

Agreeably, Hornius, from my Lord Brook, seems to express himself in this more accurately than other writers, by dividing those who separated from the Church of England into two sorts, viz.: (1) The Rigid Separatists or Brownists; (2) The Semi-Separatists or Robinsonians, who, after a while, were called Independents, and still retain the name. And so distant were the former in their principles and temper from the latter; that as the chief seat of the Brownists was then at Amsterdam; Governor Winslow, a principal member of Mr. Robinson's Church, acquaints us "that the Brownists there would hardly hold communion with the people at Leyden."

The same gentleman also tells us, "that Mr. Robinson was always against separation from any of the Churches of Christ, holding communion with the Reformed Churches, both in Scotland, France, and the Netherlands; that his study was for peace and union so far as might agree with faith and a good conscience: but for the Government of the Church of England, as in the Episcopal way, the

Liturgy, and stinted prayers, yea, the constitution of the church as national, and so the corrupt communion of the unworthy with the worthy receivers of the Lord's Supper: these things were never approved of him, but witnessed against to his death and by the church under him: that the Church of Leyden made no schism or separation from the Reformed Churches, but as occasion offered held communion with them. For we, says Governor Winslow, ever placed a large difference between those who ground their practice on the word of God, though differing from us in the exposition or understanding of it, and those who hated such Reformers and reformation and went on in Anti-Christian opposition to it and persecution of it, as the late Lord Bishops did. Nevertheless, Mr. Robinson allowed hearing the Godly Ministers of the Church of England preach and pray in the public assemblies; yea, allowed private communion with them and with all the faithful in the kingdom and elsewhere upon all occasions." None of which would the Brownists ever allow.

"'Tis true, says Governor Winslow, we profess and desire to practise a separation from the world and the works of the world, which are the works of the flesh, such as the Apostle speaks of, Eph. v. 19—21; 1 Cor. vi. 9—11, and Eph. ii. 11, 12. And as the Churches of Christ are all Saints by calling; so we desire to see the Grace of God shining forth, at least seemingly (leaving secret things to God) in all we admit into Church fellowship, and to keep off such as openly wallow in the mire of their sins: that neither the holy things of God, nor the communion of the Saints may be thereby leavened or polluted. And if any joining to us when we lived at Leyden or since we came to New England have with the manifestation of their faith

and profession of holiness held forth there with separation from the Church of England ; I have diverse times in the one place heard Mr. Robinson, our pastor, and in the other, Mr. Brewster, our elder, stop them forthwith, showing them that we required no such thing at their hands, but only to hold forth faith in Jesus Christ, holiness in the fear of God, and submission to every divine appointment, leaving the Church of England to themselves and to the Lord, to whom we ought to pray to reform what was amiss among them."

Perhaps Hornius was the only person who gave this people the title of Robinsonians. But had he been duly acquainted with the generous principles both of the people, and their famous pastor, he would have known that nothing was more disagreeable to them than to be called by the name of any mere man whatever; since they renounced all attachment to any mere human systems or expositions of the Scripture, and reserved an entire and perpetual liberty of searching the inspired records and of forming both their principles and practice from those discoveries they should make therein without imposing them on others. This appears in their original Covenant in 1602, as we observed before. And agreeable to this, Governor Winslow tells us, that when the Plymouth people parted from their renowned Pastor with whom they had always lived in the most entire affection "he charged us before God and his blessed Angels to follow him no further than he followed Christ: And if God should reveal anything to us by any other instrument of his to be as ready to receive it as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry. For he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his Holy word. He took occasion also

miserably to bewail the state of the Reformed Churches, who were come to a period in religion and would go no further than the instruments of their reformation. As for example, the Lutherans could not be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; for whatever part of God's word He had further revealed to Calvin, they had rather die than embrace it; and so, said he, you see the Calvinists, they stick where he left them, a misery much to be lamented: for though they were precious shining lights in their times, yet God had not revealed his whole will to them; and were they now alive, said he, they would be as ready to embrace further light as that they had received. Here, also, he put us in mind of our Church Covenant: whereby we engaged with God and one another to receive whatever light or truth should be made known to us from his written word. But withal exhorted us to take heed what we receive for truth; and well to examine, compare, and weigh it with other Scriptures before we receive it. For, said he, it is not possible the Christian world should come so lately out of such Anti-Christian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once, &c.,"—Words almost astonishing in that age of low and universal bigotry which then prevailed in the English nation: wherein this truly great and learned man seems to be almost the only divine who was capable of rising into a noble freedom of thinking and practising in religious matters, and even of urging such an equal liberty on his own people. He labours to take them off from their attachment to him, that they might be more entirely free to search and follow the Scriptures."—pp. 86—90.

VI.

The early Allusion, and I may say, Testimony, to the Religious Spirit and Conduct of the first Settlers in North America, borne by George Herbert, the prince of the Sacred Poets of England.

Everyone is familiar with two lines in the poem of Herbert entitled, *The Church Militant*—

> "Religion stands on tip-toe on our land
> Ready to pass to the *American* strand,"

because they are quoted by good old Izaac Walton, when he speaks of the Temple, a posthumous work of Herbert's, published by his friend, Nicholas Farrer.

When the manuscript was presented to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge for his license to print, he scrupled to allow the sentiment in these lines to go forth. Mr. Farrer would by no means allow the objection, and as Walton tells the story "after some time and some arguments for and against their being made public, the Vice-Chancellor said, 'I knew Mr. Herbert well, and know that he had many heavenly speculations, and was a divine poet; but I hope the world will not take him to be an inspired prophet, and, therefore, I license the whole book,' so that it came to be printed without the diminution or addition of a syllable."

At what time the particular poem was written

which contains the obnoxious couplet is not known, and the only chronological fact respecting it is, that it was written in or before 1633, for in that year the author died. This was only twelve years after the emigration of the Leyden people, and supposing that it was written before he became settled on his benefice in Wiltshire, it would be only nine years after that emigration, and before the Puritan stream began to set so strongly as it afterwards did to the shores of North America. So that it may, without violence, be understood to have a kind of reference to Robinson's church, or in other words, to the Scrooby church, and even to be an independent testimony from a very distinguished member of the English church at once to the deeply religious spirit and to the excellent morality of these Puritan Separatists.

The Journal of Governor Winthrop affords an excellent comment on this celebrated couplet. In 1634 he says, after having recorded that Mr. Humfrey and the Lady Susan his wife, a daughter of Thomas, the third Clinton Earl of Lincoln, had arrived in the colony, that "godly people in England began now to apprehend a special hand of God in raising this plantation, and their hearts were generally stirred to come over." (*Savage's Winthrop*, i. 135.) A strange and awful calamity, however, befel this most unfortunate family who were allied to the noblest houses in England, when they were settled in America.

Herbert was not one of those persons who can see

no good in any form of Christian profession but that which they themselves adopt. He could see good in all forms and modes of Christian profession, and undoubtedly good there is in them all, and hard is it to say in what form it exerts itself the most successfully to produce what is the great end of all forms and all professions, lives of holiness and virtue.

But these two celebrated lines are not the only part of the poem which may seem to have relation to the first Founders of New Plymouth. In the persuasion that the passage is less known than it ought to be, I place in this appendix an extended extract. At the same time it must be owned that there are allusions in what follows to the Spanish conquests in America: and the great argument of the whole poem, *The Church Militant*, is the westward progression of Christian Faith.

"But as in vice the copy still exceeds
The pattern, but not so in virtuous deeds;
So though Sin made his latter seat the better
The latter church is to the first a debtor.
The second Temple could not reach the first:
And the late Reformation never durst
Compare with ancient times and purer years;
But in the Jews and us deserveth tears.
Nay, it shall every year decrease and fade;
Till such a darkness do the world invade
At Christ's last coming, as his first did find:
Yet must there such proportions be assigned

To these diminishings, as is between
The spacious world and *Jewry* to be seen.
Religion stands on tip-toe in our land
Ready to pass to the *American* strand.
When height of malice and prodigious lusts,
Impudent sinning, witchcrafts and distrusts
(The marks of future bane) shall fill our cup
Unto the brim, and make our measure up:
When *Seine* shall swallow *Tiber*, and the *Thames*,
By letting in them both, pollutes her streams:
When *Italy* of us shall have her will
And all her calendar of Sins fulfil;
Whereby one may foretell, what sins next year
Shall both in *France* and *England* domineer:
Then shall religion to *America* flee:
They have their times of gospel, e'en as we.
My God, thou dost prepare for them a way,
By carrying first their gold from them away:
For gold and grace did never yet agree;
Religion always sides with poverty.
We think we rob them, but we think amiss:
We are more poor and they more rich by this.
Thou wilt revenge their quarrel, making grace
To pay our debts, and leave our ancient place
To go to them, while that which now their nation
But lends to us, shall be our desolation.
Yet as the Church shall thither westward fly
So Sin shall trace and dog her instantly:
They have their period also and set times
Both for their virtuous actions and their crimes.
And where of old the Empire and the Arts
Ushered the Gospel ever in men's hearts,

Spain hath done one, when Arts perform the other,
The Church shall come, and Sin the Church shall smother.
That when they have accomplished the round,
And met in the east their first and ancient sound,
Judgment may meet them both, and search them round."

VII.

How the case of SEPARATION appeared to an eminent PRESBYTERIAN NONCONFORMIST.

This view of the case of Separation and of the character of the divines who were leaders in it, is copied from a manuscript of John Shaw, a Puritan minister of great eminence, but who sought reformation of the church, as precluding the necessity of separation from it. Yet he was compelled to withdraw himself by the operation of the act of Uniformity in 1662. The manuscript was written in 1664, for the special instruction and benefit of his only son. When he wrote it he had returned to Rotherham, where he had been Vicar, from Hull where he had a benefice, from which he was removed. See Calamy's Account, &c., p. 823. He referred his own conversion to a more religious life to the preaching of Mr. Weld, who afterwards went to New England. There is a copy of the Life of Shaw by himself, spoken of by Calamy, amongst the Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum. He was born in the year of the Scrooby Emigration.

"Those that separate from our Churches, both with a privative separation (not joining with us in any Ordinances) or with a positive separation, setting up and gathering distinct opposite assemblies, these think that they have reason for it. About the year of Christ, 253, lived one Novatus, first under Cyprian, after at Rome, who denied any benefit by repentance to such as had denied Christ, though for fear and in the heat of persecution, or had fallen into any gross sin after baptism; and he drew many after him, men well conceited of themselves above others, who therefore were called Cathari (or Puritans, a name very basely given to the best of men, of late, by way of reproach): and after that about the year of Christ, 331, one Donatus drew a great party after him, though both these are reported to have made those separations out of discontent and for by-ends, as missing some expected preferments, &c., and did separate from the church upon this pretence—that in the church, wicked were mingled with the godly, who did defile the godly in the communion of the Sacrament; and affirmed the true church to be nowhere, nor any true baptism anywhere, but only in their church in Africa; and therefore re-baptised all (as the Anabaptists now do), that came to join in communion with them: they said that Sacraments were onlyholy when they were administered by holy persons; and when they were pressed by the Emperor to reform, they said *Quid Imperatori cum Ecclesia?* as the Anabaptists and Separatists say now, when opposed by the civil magistrate, *Magistratui Christiano nihil cum sacris* (say they), the civil magistrate hath nothing to do in matters of religion, as if he was not *Custos utriusque tabulæ.* Afterward about the year of Christ 371, one Audens, a Syrian, pretending great strictness of life, and zeal, got a company of followers, who separated

from the Church, and would not pray with other Christians (almost like those Isa. lxv. 5), crying down Bishops for their riches, &c. (*vituperabant Episcopos, Divites ipsos appellantes*); and gave this reason for their separation, because (said they) Usurers and other impure livers were suffered in the bosom of the Church (were there not as bad in the Jewish Church when Christ joined with it? and as foul errors in the churches of Galatia, Gal. i. 6, and iii. 1-4, and Corinth, I. Cor. ii. 18-22, and xv, 12, &c.?). In the days of Queen Elizabeth these opinions did much start up in England, as not long before they had done at Munster, and up and down in Germany, amongst a sort called Anabaptists (though the errors grew and were multiplied): one Bolton made a great separation upon the fore-mentioned principles, yet afterwards he recanted at Paul's-Cross, and in the end hanged himself. After that, one Barrow held up those opinions, and writ bitterly against others not of his opinion: whom Queen Elizabeth (though I no way commend that fact) caused, therefore, to be hanged on Tower Hill. But especially one Robert Browne rose up, and maintained and practised this separation (from whom his followers are called Brownists). Browne was a gentleman of a very ancient family in Queen Elizabeth's days, but of a very crabbed nature, and no great clerk (as Tully said of some in his days that they were *boni quidem viri, sed non admodum literati*), it was not much learning that made him mad, Acts xxvi. 24. He was schoolmaster in Southwark, and after preacher at Islington, near London; and about the year 1580 went oversea with his gathered followers, unto Middleburgh in Zealand; yet there his Church (having no superior government in church-matters above themselves to direct and correct them) fell to jar-

rings, broke in pieces; many turned Anabaptists: Browne returned into England, and once recanted his opinions, took a parsonage in Northamptonshire, at the hand of a Bishop (though some say he did never preach at it, but turned to loose life), and died very aged, at Northampton, in prison; not at all for his opinion, but as some say, for his not paying a constable-rate, and striking the constable that demanded it; others say, for debt to his curate, who officiated for him at his parsonage. After this the JOHNSONS, both father and sons, separated upon the like grounds; and went with their congregation to Amsterdam; but there they broke all in pieces, and many turned Anabaptists; and one of the Johnsons excommunicated first his brother George, and then his father. Then one SMITH (that writ formerly a comment on the Lord's Prayer), he went over to Ley (*sic*) in Holland, with his followers, upon the former grounds; yet afterwards renounced his opinion; but after that, he again flew so high, that he turned not only Anabaptist, but Sebaptist, and baptised himself, as not having any other that he knew of, fully of his opinion; and accused the rest for looking on their Bibles in time of preaching, and on their Psalm-books in time of singing psalms. AINSWORTH (a learned man and great Rabbin, who writ learnedly on the Pentateuch, and other books of Scripture, and a good man, and so probably for the main were many of the others,) he upon the like grounds separated, and went into Ireland with his followers, and after he returned to Amsterdam in Holland; and after his death, his church long remained in Amsterdam without officers, till JOHN CANNE (of late a preacher to the garrison of soldiers in Hull, under Colonel Overton) took upon him to be their pastor, whom in time they also excommunicated. Learned

and pious Mr. Robinson also separated, and went (as the others) beyond sea; but being mightily convinced by learned Dr. Ames, and Mr. Parker (two great nonconformists but no Separatists, who desired Reformation not Separation; or who separated from the corruption in, not communion with, the true church, as Mr. Dod, Mr. Hildersham, and others also did); this Robinson so far thereby came back, that he approved of communion with the Church of England, in the hearing of the word and prayer, (though not in sacraments and discipline) and so occasioned the rise of such as are called Semists, that is Semiseparatists, or Independants, (many of whom are pious good men:) And all these thought that their tenents were very rational: So Bernard Rotman the first Anabaptist, and Islebius Agricola, the first Antinomian, both in Germany, once recanted their errors in a public auditory, and printed their recantation; yet they both relapsed after into their former errors, (when Luther was dead and out of their way) and died in them and thought them very reasonable: But, alas! pride, selfendedness, and cursed lusts, blind and bias men's reason.—*John Shaw's Advice to his Son*, 1664. MS. pp. 450-4.

VIII.

The May-flower.

It cannot be denied that there is something which strikes pleasingly on the ear in the name of the vessel which carried over Brewster and Bradford, and the first settlers, and this may justify the frequent reference which is made to it by those who speak on

public occasions of the early history of New Plymouth. Nor is the subject of *Naval Nomenclature*, in general, one which is quite undeserving attention. The following lists taken from original documents may serve as the beginning of a more complete treatise on the subject.

The Thirteenth Century.

The prevalent names are—

The Holy Cross	The Rose	The Alissot
Beneyt	James	St. Salvator
Margery	Maudelaine	Sunday
St. Nicholas (which for ever occurs)	Mariot	Precheour
	Joye	Spicing-horn
	Trinity	Prisonere
Woderowe	Suneval	Sandwich
Blie (Blythe)	Plenty	Chance
Godyer	Welyfare of frequent occurrence)	Julian
Luk (Luck)		Messenger
Garland		Gregory
Goldfinch	Godale	Clement
All Saints	Johannet	Stilt
Chaumpnise	Legere	Chivaler
Waynpayn	Christesmesse	Pynot
Notre Dame	Stede	Iceland.
Saint Mary	St. Andrew	
Defender	Cristine	

The Fourteenth Century.

The Pater-Noster	The Portjoie	The Swallow
Gladchere	Arundel	Gebisore
Edmund	Edward	Lightfoot

The Meriton	The Halygast	The Palmer
Hare	Friday	Dukeler
Robinet	Mary Knight	Blitheleven
George	Good will	Gother
Dionys	Hownoght	Welbord
Laurence	Goddys Knight	Hardebelle
Malyn	Ave Mary	St. Bernard
Gundale	Gudfriday	Dublere
Isabel	Gudwill	St. Peter
Hopper	Charity	St. Euphania
Gabriel	May-dagh	Merryweder
Gladwin	Wedness-dagh	Drinkwater
Catherine	Grace Dieu	Godebyete
Nowell	Palmdaye	Welygo
Roos	Ellen	Flower de Lise
Pasmagot	None	Goddes Frend.
Skenkwyne	Maye	

With many of the names of the preceding century.

The Fifteenth Century.

The Iago	The Maiheven	The Petyjohn
Godbered	Osterfan	Margaret
St. Wabord	St. Paul	Talbot
Willibord	Bartilmedowe	Stephen
Anthony	St. Leon	Jesus
Rudeship	Rood	Mary Croft
Wilgudan	Patrick	Puryl (Pearl)
Curtowtyr	Cataline	Bury
Cum wele-to-House	Martenet	Remond
	Sampson	Raphael
Kirtewater	Jobert	Crowner

The George Gallant	The Dilecte	The Schapherd
Graunt Marie de la Tour	Mary Paul	Sparenat
Marie Briton	Harry	Rose of Lombardy
Craccher	Lucas	Blythe Church
Swan	Magdaleyn	Sparewater
Valentyne	Mary Welfare	Codger
Felton	Mary Jasper	Gaylard
	Mary Clemens	Make-glad.
	Cadogan	

With other names of the preceding lists.

The Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary.

The Trinity Sovereign	The Jennet Penwyne	The Lagwyn
Gabriel-royal	Great Elizabeth	Maria Dolorata
Peter Pomgranat	Sweepstake	Gabriel Ryal
John Baptist	Dragon	Pott
Mary James	Mawdelyn	Flying Hart
Catherine Fortelezza	Lion	Wolf
Gt. Nicholas	Baptist	Godgave
Mary Rose	Mary Cradock	Salvation
Great Barbara	Marlyon	Black Peter
Mary and John	Sabyan	Mullard
Christ	Sunday	Greu-hound
Anne Galante	Julian	Catch
Charity	Erasmus	Pynke
Mary George	Conception	Mary Fortune
Swallow	Bastian	Half Moon
	Salvator	Hubert
		Poll
		Althorn

The Gyrthyr	The Rosewell	The Onyon
Correwe	Flory	Flight
Lokkard	Rounce	Three Ostrich
Black More	Branch	Feathers
Mary Martyn	Post	Sun
Hogge	Daniel	Cloud in the
Poppingjay	Gripe	Sun
Robbinet	Guy	Double Cross
Luthiany	Lady Pity	Hawthorn
Gylion	Primrose	Barbara Ma-
Battle	Swan	rina
Marlyn	Flower de	Peti Pawncy
God's Grace	Lewys	Lutterel
David	Sancta Crux	Great Harry.

The Reigns of Elizabeth and James I.

The Desire	The Joshua	The Speedwell
Gods Gift	Grace of	Swiftsure
Gift	God	Samaritan
Hopewell	Providence	Marygold
Trial	Ellen	Faith
Jonas	Solomon	Affection
Edward	Spark	Signett
Matthew	Chancewell	John Evan-
Pilgrim	New Years	gelist
Ascention	Gift	Young Fro
True Love	Luck	Diamond
May Flower	Violet	Fox
Brave	Hope-grace	Judy
Blessing	Hopewell	Carnation
Doll	Expedition	White Rose

The Phœnix
Bess
Delight
Saker
Dawson's Dainty
Scapewell
Cherubin
Flying Hart
Repentance
Apollo
Toby
Grace
Charity
New Year
Angle
Pleasure
Minion
Gennett
Dreadnot
White Bear
Emmanuel
Seraphim
Golden Rial
Help God
Pasch
Centurion
Godfather
Goodwill
God-save-her
Partridge
Time

The Smith
Ollavant
Berzebee
Talbot
Salamander
Adoniah
Flying Harry
Vantage
Wat
Saint Ursula
Judith
Eastridge
Lettice
Little John
Paunces
Monky
Hercules
Sea Flower
Phœbe
Diamond
Pasport
What-you-will
Flowers of Comfort
Ruben
Vineyard
Day Star
Lowry
Gray
Eme
Golden Gray

The Strange
Minikin
Little Angel
White Horse
Blind Mackarell.
Chancewell
Red World
Three Acorns
Whale-fish
Blue Jack
Tumbler
Lowrinson
Agrippa
Ospray
Seamawe
Black Cat
Black Lamb
Exchange
Transport
Angillivor
Pascoe
Command
Vynet
Ark
Alexander
Green Dragon
Seahorse
Incomade
Tiger
Morning Star

The Water Rat	The Neptune	The Leander
Sweet Maiden	Orange-tree	Post Horse
Bruse	Golden Anchor	Plough
Hugonet	Gelly Flower	Peregrine
Confidence	Ox	Gilliflower
Old Comfort	Dainty	Saint Honor
Black Fly	Halfpenny	Plain Swan
Lang Friday	Patience	Æneas
Venturer	Concord	Alethea
Sea Rider	Well-met	Mussell
Dudley	Leveret	Damaris
Wild Man	Jarble	Gideon
Thornback	Spark	Valentine
Haddock	Medusa	Handmaid
Sturgeon	Diana	Vapor
Armitage	Consent	Rejoice
Moonlight	Revenge	Lucky
Report	Hunter	Yellow Plank
Sea knight	Bat	Long Neck
Frollick	Little Edom	Goodwill
Flax Flower	Restitution	Hogaster
Sapphire	Contrition	Toll-dish
Bell	Beer-pot	Pint-pot
Damsel	Shelfish	Trudgeover
Handmaid	Arcania	Wren
Cleeve	Pliant	Chimney
Wagon	Sea-venture	Aurole.

The name of May-Flower classes with Sea-Flower, Gilliflower, Flax-Flower, the Rose, the Carnation, and other names of flowers from which selections began to

be made early, but very sparingly till we arrive at the sixteenth century, when vessels bearing names of this class become very numerous.

I have not observed the name of May-Flower before the year 1583, when we find a vessel so named contributing to an assessment on ships of three-pence a ton, for the repair of the Harbour of Dover.

But the name very soon became exceedingly popular among those to whom belonged the giving of the names to vessels in the merchant service. Before the close of that century we have a May-Flower of Hastings, a May-Flower of Rie, a May-Flower of Newcastle; a May-Flower of Lynn, and a May-Flower of Yarmouth, both in 1589. Also a May-Flower of Hull, 1599; a May-Flower of London of eighty tons burthen, 1587, and 1594, of which Richard Ireland was the master, and another May-Flower of the same port, of ninety tons burthen, of which Robert White was the master in 1594, and a third May-Flower of London, unless it is the same vessel with one of the two just spoken of, only with a different master, William Morecock. In 1587 there was a May-Flower of Dover, of which John Tooke was the master. In 1593 there was a May-Flower of Yarmouth of 120 tons, of which William Musgrave was the master.

In 1608 there was a May-Flower of Dartmouth, of which Nicholas Waterdonne was the master; and in 1609 a May-Flower of Middleburgh entered an English port.

Later in the century we find a May-Flower of Ipswich, and another of Newcastle, in 1618; a May-Flower of York, 1621; a May-Flower of Scarborough, 1630, Robert Hadock the master; a May-Flower of Sandwich in the same year, John Oliver the master; a May-Flower of Dover, 1633, Walter Finnis, master, in which two sons of the Earl of Berkshire crossed to Calais.

Which of these was the vessel which carried over the precious freight cannot perhaps be told; but we learn from Mr. Sherley's Letter to Governor Bradford (Prince, p. 187) that the same vessel was employed in 1629 in passing between the two countries a company of the church at Leyden, who had joined in the first emigration intending to pass in it to America; and in the same author we find that the vessel arrived in the harbour of Charles-town on July 1, 1630.

There was a May-Flower which, in 1648, gained an unenviable notoriety. But this was not the May-Flower which had carried over the first settlers, it being a vessel of 350 tons, while the *genuine* May-Flower was of only 180 tons. In respect of this later May-Flower, which did not deserve so gentle and pleasing a name, George Dethick, of Poplar, gentleman, deposed, in a suit brought by the proprietors against the captain, that he well knew the ships, the May-Flower, the Peter, and the Benjamin, of which Samuel Vassall, Richard Grandley, and Company, were the true and lawful owners, and that they fitted them

out on a trading voyage to Guinea, and thence to certain places in the West Indies, and so to return to London. William Jacket was captain and commander, and Dethick himself sailed in the May-Flower as one of the master's mates, June 16, 1647. On the arrival of the ship at Guinea, they trucked divers goods for negroes—elephants' teeth, gold, and provisions for the negroes. They got 450 negroes and more, with which he sailed in the May-Flower to Barbadoes, arriving there at the beginning of March, 1648, Mr. Dethick being then purser. After staying about twelve days at Barbadoes they proceeded to Cuminagota, which is under the dominion of the King of Spain, where they arrived about the 26th of March. Then follows a long story of mismanagement on the part of Captain Jacket, to the serious injury of Vassall and his partners; also of cruelty to the boatswain committed by him on board the May-Flower.

In a brief, in a Florentine cause in the Court of Admiralty (Lansd. MS. 160, art. 12), the subject is the ship the May-Flower of 300 tons, belonging to John Elredy and Richard Hall, of London, merchants, which arrived at Leghorn in 1605, and was there repaired by the merchants, at the charge of 3200 ducats. When it was ready to return to England, it was stayed by the officers of the Duke of Florence, and compelled to unlade the merchandise, saving some lignum vitæ left in her for ballast.

IX.

Intending Emigrants in the Ship *Prosperous*, 1636.

One of the more remarkable circumstances attending the settlement of New England, is the countenance given to the undertaking by the family of Clinton, Earl of Lincoln. Two ladies of this family, Lady Arbella, the wife of Isaac Johnson, of Clipstone in Rutlandshire, and Lady Susanna, wife of John Humfrey, two of the daughters of Thomas the third Earl, removed themselves to the new country while in the prime of life; the former of them as early as 1630. Another of the daughters married John Gorges, a son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who was much concerned in the New England affairs.

Their uncle Sir Henry Fines, as he was called rather than Clinton, was a zealous Puritan, as were his descendants, and also his near relative Sir James Harington of Ridlington: and this leads me to think that the company of eighty persons, who in 1636 sailed from Boston in the ship Prosperous, having been embarked by Harington Fines, the son of Sir Henry, were Puritan emigrants making their way for New England.

Their unfortunate fate is related in the following deposition made on August 2d, in 1637, by Marmaduke Rayson, of Hull, gentleman.

"Whereas Harington Fynes, Esquire, about the beginning of May, 12th Charles I, caused about fourscore men to be shipped at Boston in Lincolnshire, as passengers, with intent that they should be landed at Harwich; for the landing of whom Sir Henry Fynes, of Kirkstead in Lincolnshire, Knight, and Robert Hutton, of Lynn in the county of Norfolk, by their obligation dated May, in the 12th year of Charles, became bound to His Majesty in £600:—Now this deponent declares that he was one of the said persons so shipped, and for which the said obligation was entered into: and that the said ship and men being in their passage from Boston towards Harwich, they were set upon and taken by French pirates, and were robbed and stripped, both of their apparel and all their other goods and provision in the said ship, and so were violently carried away: but it happened that a ship of Dunkirk met with them, and chased away the French ship, and did carry the said ship in which this deponent with the residue of the said passengers then were, towards Dunkirk: but yet by the said Dunkirker's direction this deponent and the residue of the said passengers were set on shore upon the French coast, by means whereof, the said passengers could not be landed at Harwich according to the condition of the said obligation."

X.

ENTRIES of BRADFORDS, HANSONS, and MORTONS, in the PARISH REGISTER of AUSTERFIELD, extracted in 1851 and 1852.

BRADFORDS.

Baptisms.

1561, Jan. 23, Robert, son of William.
1570, July 10, Elizabeth, daughter of William.
1577, March 9, Margaret, daughter of Thomas.
1585, March 8, Margaret, daughter of William.
1587, Sept. 22, William, son of Robert.
Nov. 30, Alice, daughter of William.
1589, March 19, WILLIAM, SON OF WILLIAM.
1591, May 14, Robert, son of Robert.
1593, Feb. 2, Mary, daughter of Robert.
1597, May 15, Elizabeth, daughter of Robert.
1600, June 8, Margaret, daughter of Robert.
1613, August 1, Elizabeth, daughter of Robert. Sponsors: Lindley Richardson, Elizabeth Richardson, and Ellen Harrison.
1613, Feb. 3, Richard, son of Robert.
1617, April 16, Judith, daughter of Robert.
1618, Feb. 17, Grace, daughter of Robert.
1621, August 1, Elizabeth, daughter of Robert.
1623, Feb. 20, Janne, daughter of Robert.
1626, Feb. 20, Mary, daughter of Robert. Sponsors: William Thorpe, Modlin Benson, and Jane Marsland.
1629, Oct. 18, Margaret, daughter of Robert.
1631, July 14, Elizabeth, daughter of Robert.

Marriages.

No entries between 1564 and 1577.

1584, Jan. 21, William B. and Alice Hanson.
1586, Jan. 31, Robert B. and Alice Waigestaff [or 1585]
1593, Sept. 23, Robert Briggs and Alice B.
1595, Jan. 25, James Hall and Eliz. B.
1615, . . . 11, Robert B. and Elizabeth Sothwood, by license of the Archbishop of York.

Burials.

None before 19th Oct. 1577. Pestilence in 1583.

1585, March 9, Margaret, daughter of William.
1591, July 15, William.
1593, April 30, William, son of Robert.
1595, Jan. 10, William B. the eldest.
March 18, a child of Robert.
1597, May 14, a child of Robert.
1600, July 13, Alice, wife of Robert.
1607, Jan. 30, Alice.
1609, April 23, Robert.
1614, March 6, Jane, wife of Robert.
1625, May 22, Jane, daughter of Robert.
Sept. 20, Mary, daughter of Robert.
1626, August 20, Thomas, son of Robert.
1629, Oct. 20, Margaret, daughter of Robert.
1631, July 6, Eliz., daughter of Robert.
163., Dec. 25, Robert.

HANSONS.

Baptisms.

1560, Feb. 1, Isabel, daughter of Christopher.
1562, Dec. 8, Alice, daughter of John.

1563, Sept. 20, Bryan, son of Christopher.
1564, Nov. 8, George, son of John.
1565, August 2, William, son of George.
1567, Dec. 12, George, son of George.
1568, July 13, Margaret, daughter of Thomas.
1569, August 24, Robert, son of John.
1571, April 11, Catherine, daughter of John.
1572, July 26, John, son of John.
1574, Oct. 17, George, son of Thomas.
1577, Nov. 24, Eliz., daughter of Thomas.
1579, Sept. 17, William, son of George.
1580, May 8, Richard, son of Agnes, a bastard.
1584, Sept. 17, William, son of Robert.
1585, March 8, Mary, daughter of William.
1587, August 6, Eliz., daughter of Robert.
1589, Oct. 14, Jane, daughter of George.
1590, Jan. 6, Elizabeth, daughter of George.
1592, April 4, John, son of George.
1593, April 1, Mary, daughter of George.
1599, Jan. 15, Elizabeth, daughter of Robert.
1602, Jan. 1, William, son of Robert.
1605, Oct. 20, Thomas, son of Robert.
1605, Jan. 31, Thomas, son of George.
1607, June 21, George, son of George.
1608, Oct. 23, Jane, daughter of George.
1608, Feb. 11, Jane, daughter of Robert.
1610, Jan. 30, John, son of George.
1612, Jan. 10, Christopher, son of George.
1614, Dec. 9, Robert, son of George.
1616, March 14, Thomas, son of George.
1619, Sept. 5, George, son of George.
1619, March 19, William, son of George the younger.

Marriages.

1560, July 23, John H. and Mary Gressam.
1562, July 7, Thomas H. and Mary Throppe.
1578, June 29, George H. and Margaret Vescie.
1583, Jan. 19, Robert Hame and Agnes H.
1584, June 21, William Bradford and Alice H.
1594, Feb. 10, Thomas Lawe and Joan H.
1596, Oct. 24, Robert H. and Ann Hyde.
1610, June 4, George H. and Ann Caskeen.
Oct. 10, Robert Vescie and Ann H.
16 . . . . . Charles Morton and Elizabeth H.
Nov. 10, William Palmer and Joan H.
1617, Feb. 9, Robert Tee and Ann H., by license of the Archbishop.

Burials.

1580, Oct. 14, Agnes, wife of Thomas.
Feb. 14, Agnes, daughter of Thomas.
1583, May 20, William, son of George.
July 13, George, son of George.
July 21, George, son of Thomas.
July 22, Thomas, son of Thomas.
July 23, George.
July 24, Elizabeth his wife.[1]
1589, Jan. 20, Robert.
1591, August 31, Elizabeth.
1592, Feb. 7, George H. *alias* Cooke.
1595, April 20, a child of George.

[1] This was in the time of the pestilence with which these parts of Yorkshire were so sorely visited. Above 700 persons died at Doncaster, of whom 141 died in this sad month of July.

1601, Feb. 25, a child of George.
Feb. 27, John.
1603, July 31, Mary, widow.
1605, Feb. 5, George.
1607, March 3, Thomas, son of widow H.
1609, Jan. 8, Jane H., widow.
Jan. 8, Thomas.
Jan. 29, Margaret, wife of George.
1610, Sept. 7, Elizabeth, daughter of Ann H.
1613, July 19, John, son of George.
1614, May 7, John.
1616, Oct. 20, George.
1617, Dec. 2, Elizabeth.
March 21, Mary, wife of William.
1618, March 12, Thomas, son of George.

MORTON.

Baptisms.

1559, Sept. 10, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas.
1571, Jan. 1, Brian, son of Thomas.
1574, April 11, Alice, daughter of Thomas.
1589, March 1, Thomas, son of Thomas.
1591, Oct. 3, Jane, daughter of Thomas.
1593, Oct. 29, Robert, son of Thomas.
1595, Oct. 10, James, son of Thomas.
1597, Feb. 12, George, son of Thomas.
1601, Nov. 14, Robert, son of Thomas.
1604, April 29, Margaret, daughter of Thomas.
1607, Sept. 6, William, son of Robert.
Oct. 28, Francis, son of Thomas.
1609, March 14, Anthony, son of Robert.
1611, June 14, Mary, daughter of Robert.

1612, August 30, Elizabeth, daughter of Robert.
1615, Feb. 2, Thomas, son of Robert.
1618, March 19, Elizabeth, daughter of Robert.

Marriages.

1578, April 13, Robert Button and Jennet M.
1580, Nov. 27, Richard Thropp and Agnes M.
1588, Nov. 18, Thomas M. and Joan Benson.
1591, Oct. 6, Thomas M. and Mary Oldfield.
1616, ... Charles M. and Elizabeth Hanson.

Burials.

1591, June 21, Jenet, wife of Thomas M.
1592, Jan. 25, Catherine M.
1593, Nov. 28, a child of Thomas M.
1596, Feb. 20, James, son of Thomas.
1607, Jan. 8, William, son of Robert.
1609, Jan. 19, Anthony, son of Robert.
1611, June 16, Mary, daughter of Robert.
1613, Sept. 8, Mary, daughter of Thomas.
1614, August 17, Thomas.

XI.

Entries in the Parish Register of Sutton-upon-Lound of Brewsters and Welbecks.

1557, Sept. 8, married, John Rollesley and Barbara Welbeck, gentlewoman.
1599, Feb. 24, baptised, Grace, daughter of James and Mary Brewster.

1600, May 22, married, Alexander Stow and Ann Welbeck, gentlewoman.

1601, April 15, baptised, Welbeck, son of Alexander Stow.

August 19, buried, William Welbeck, gentleman.

1603, April 14, baptised, Anne, daughter of Alexander Stow.

Nov. 30, baptised, Elizabeth, daughter of James and Mary Brewster.

1605, December 4, baptised, Thomas, son of Alexander and Anne Stow.

1606, September 23, baptised, Susanna, daughter of James and Mary Brewster.

1608, November 14, baptised, Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander and Ann Stow.

1609, November 5, baptised, Judith, daughter of James and Mary Brewster.

1611, May 19, baptised, Mary, daughter of Alexander and Ann Stow—buried the 21st.

July 9, married, John Armitage and Ann Brewster.

1613, January 14, buried, "James Brewster, vicar there."

1615, May 18, baptised, Mary, daughter of Alexander Stow, gentleman.

1617, July 21, baptised, Alexander, son of Alexander Stow, gentleman.

1619, August 1, buried, Alexander, son of Alexander Stow, gentleman.

1620, October 22, married, William Glaive and Grace Brewster.

1625, November 22, baptised, Mary Brewster, daughter of Mary Brewster, spurious.

December 5, buried, Mary Brewster.

1630, May 18, baptised, Anne, daughter of Mr. Welbeck Stow.

1633, November 5, married, Ed. Oldfield and Judith Brewster.

1637, April 7, buried, Mrs. Mary Brewster, widow.

June 25, baptised, Ann, daughter of Edward Oldfield and Judith his wife.

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